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"THREE OF YOUR ARGOSIES ARE RICHLY COME TO HARBOR"

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Recent Shakespeare Scholarship

By HARDIN CRAIG

WHEN in 1923 Professor C. H. Herford issued *A Sketch of Recent Shakespeare Investigation* (London: Blackie. Pp. 58), most of the current trends in Shakespeare scholarship were well started and clearly recognizable. *Shakespeare's England* had come out in 1916; Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare* had grown from its original brevity in the fifty-first volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography* to what was practically its final form (first edition, 1898; revised editions, 1909, 1915, 1922; fourth edition of the revised version, 1925); Professor A. W. Pollard's *Shakespeare's Folios and Quartos* appeared in 1909, and his *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates* in 1917 (1920); Professor C. W. Wallace had announced his discoveries bearing on Shakespeare's life and on the Elizabethan stage in the years following 1910; Mr. Percy Simpson had put forward his yet much debated thesis on the elocutionary nature of Elizabethan punctuation in 1911 (*Shakespearian Punctuation.* Oxford: Clarendon Press); Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's monograph on *Shakespeare's Handwriting* had appeared in 1916 (Oxford: Clarendon Press); the boldest, and at the same time not least friendly of "disintegrators," Mr. J. M. Robertson, had long been under way, and the first volume of *The Shakespeare Canon* had appeared in 1922; Professor L. L. Schücking's *Die Charakterprobleme bei Shakespeare* (first published in 1919 and translated into English in 1922. London: Harrap) and Professor E. E. Stoll's numerous articles and monographs had made the so-called skeptical point of view in Shakespeare criticism familiar to the world of Shakespeare scholars; Miss Lillian Winstanley's *Hamlet and the Scottish Succession* had appeared in 1919 and her *Macbeth, King Lear and Contemporary History* in 1922 (both from the Cambridge University Press) and had presented the most ambitious attempt yet made to interpret Shakespeare in terms of historical allegory. The effort to discover the life experience of Shakespeare through the situations and moods of his characters had run its course from Edward Dowden's *Shakespeare, his Mind and Art* (London, 1874) through Georg Brandes *(William Shakespeare: a Critical Study)* (Copenhagen, 1896; English translation, London, 1898) and Frank Harris (*Shakespeare the Man.* New York, 1909, and *The Women of Shakespeare.* New York, 1911)[1] Finally, the Shakespeare

[1] That, however, the point of view is still widely held is witnessed by the fact that Brandes was re-issued in 1924 (New York: Macmillan. Pp. xii, 721) and that a German translation of Harris by A. Valentin, issued in 1928 *(Shakespeare: Der Mensch und seine tragische Lebensgeschichte.* Berlin: Fischer. Pp. 384), has found much favor in Germany and has been widely reviewed.

criticism of Dr. A. C. Bradley (*Shakespearean Tragedy.* London, 1904; *Oxford Lectures on Poetry.* London, 1909) had become the treasured possession of lovers of Shakespeare.

It is an interesting circumstance that Professor Herford should have issued his synoptic sketch in 1923, for that year is noteworthy for the extent and importance of its publications about Shakespeare and Shakespearean matters. No year since that time has been quite so rich. In 1923 Professor Joseph Quincy Adams published his *Life of William Shakespeare* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. Pp. xvi, 560). We see now that this *Life of William Shakespeare,* though antedating Strachey and his group, is a characteristic biography of this age. It is not an impassive aggregation of official data, relieved now and then with the discussion of more or less untrustworthy tradition, but is indeed an attempt to "picture Shakespeare against a background of contemporary life." The extraordinary difficulty of Professor Adams' task has not been fully appreciated. He has had to reckon with controversy at every step, for even the smallest details of the Shakespearean records have been subject to controversy and to partisan use. The book has stood up well and has probably gained rather than lost in validity. Its virtue is in the scope of its intellectual conception and in its sanity rather than in its handling of specific details or in its manner. Indeed on such a subject and in such circumstances it is to be regretted that Professor Adams did not, however freely he may have chosen to employ his imagination in his text, provide his book more carefully with documents. As to his more important ideas, it may be said that most of them are now the more plausible because of the connections he establishes for them and that only a few have met with serious opposition. There has been some mild shaking of the head over the gentleness and respectability of his Shakespeare, whose marriage had nothing discreditable in its consummation, who did not steal deer, whose Dark Lady was an artistic creation and not the respectable wife of an Oxford innkeeper, who was fond of children and kind to his friends (deprecating the War of the Theatres), and who in bequeathing his wife his second best bed and not otherwise mentioning her in his will was in reality showing a fine considerateness. But in the clarity of retrospect it must be said that, whether or not it suits the multifarious pre-conceptions of all the world with reference to Shakespeare, Professor Adams' biography hangs together. Shakespeare now seems more obviously to have been the gentle, respectable man whom Professor Adams presents to our view. The idea that Shakespeare probably had to do with the business of prompting in the theater; that he was

engaged in poetic and dramatic work while the theaters were closed from 1592 to 1594; that he knew Latin, French, and Italian (probably Spanish); that the deer-stealing story is a late fabrication; and that the social position of Shakespeare and his family was superior to that attributed to them by popular belief, —all these have gained in credibility. That Shakespeare, in accordance with an early and good tradition, was "in his younger years a schoolmaster in the country" has not found further corroboration or increased favor; and the idea that Shakespeare on going down to London joined Lord Pembroke's company has in some quarters been vigorously opposed. The reviewers of Professor Adams' book brought to light a few minor bits and offered a few corrections. There was nothing perhaps so ingenious as Professor Manly's explanation of the origin of the butcher's apprentice tradition in Aubrey's unconscious allusion to an ancient rural game called "killing the calf" (*New Republic,* September 26, 1923).

Since 1923 contributions of actual knowledge to the biography of Shakespeare have been few, though conjecture has been as busy as ever. A battle has been waged over the site of the Globe Theatre, Mr. W. W. Braines (*The Site of the Globe Playhouse, Southwark.* Second edition, revised and enlarged. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1924) contending, on the basis of the Ostler-Heminges lawsuit, that the location was to the south of Maid-Lane (Park Street), and Mr. George Hubbard (*On the Site of the Globe Playhouse of Shakespeare.* Cambridge Univ. Press, 1923) that it was north of that thoroughfare. The latter is supported by the Vischer view and seems to have the better of the argument. The Dugdale Society has published the second and third volumes of *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon* (Transcribed by Richard Savage. Introduction and notes by Edgar I. Fripp. Vol. II, 1924, 1566-1577. Vol. III, 1926, 1577-1586). Mr. Fripp's contention that John Shakespeare's abstention from attendance on the meetings of the Corporation was not due to financial misfortunes and fear of arrest for debt but to Puritan recusancy has not been accepted, mainly on the ground that it was not Puritan but Catholic recusancy which was sought out and punished. The documents in the published accounts and Mr. Fripp's *Master Richard Quyny, Bailiff of Stratford and Friend of William Shakespeare* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1924) in their detail of social and municipal life have thrown new light on Shakespeare. Possibly the most interesting single contribution to the subject of Shakespeare's life is Professor Tucker Brooke's *Shakespeare's Moiety in the Stratford Tithes* (M.L.N., XL, 462-9). He there reads correctly for the

first time the documents printed by Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines,* seventh edition, Vol. II, pp. 19-31, and shows that the Chancery complaint of Shakespeare and other owners of tithes is to be dated in the early months of the year 1609; also that the "moiety or one-half" owned by Shakespeare was not one-half of the entire property, but one-half of a portion approximating one-eighth of the whole. Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum's *A New Study of Shakespeare's Will* (S.P., XXIII, 117-141) is also valuable. The same author's plausible attempt to prove the validity of the "Montaigne" signature *Reclaiming one of Shakespeare's Signatures* (S. P., XXII, 392-411) has not met with acceptance among Shakespeare scholars, particularly in England.

Along with these and other sober contributions to the Shakespeare life-records there is a body of less trustworthy, because more speculative, publications. Mr. Arthur Gray published in 1926 *A Chapter in the Early Life of Shakespeare: Polesworth in Arden* (Cambridge Univ. Press. Pp. 123), in which he argues pleasantly and earnestly, on almost no external evidence at all, that Shakespeare was trained up as a scholar and a gentleman at Polesworth in the household of Sir Henry Goodere. Similarly, the distinguished president of the New York Shakespeare Society, Dr. Appleton Morgan, has given his imagination a rather free rein in *Mrs. Shakespeare's Second Marriage* (Shakespeare Society of New York, 1926. Pp. 63). The Stratford burial register (8 Aug. 1623) brackets together the entry of Mrs. Shakespeare's death and the words *Anna uxor Ricardi James.* Dr. Morgan believes that the entries refer to a single person and infers that Mrs. Shakespeare married Richard James after the death of William Shakespeare. James, he thinks, might have sold the manuscripts of the plays to Heminges and Condell. Similarly also, Mr. S. O. Addy in Notes and Queries (*Shakespeare's Marriage.* Vol. 151, pp. 291-3, 309-312) argues that William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway were living together under pre-contract as man and wife at Temple Grafton at the time of their marriage. He gives interesting information about the principal persons then living at Temple Grafton and thinks that the Earl of Leicester must certainly have been Shakespeare's patron. Mr. A. R. Rainsford also, in the same periodical (Vol. 151, p. 425; Vol. 152, pp. 291-2, 311-3, 330-3, 383-5, 419-422, 438-440), attempts to establish associations of Shakespeare, Southampton, and Hall with the Rainsfords and others at Wincot. On a somewhat wider scale and more closely connected with recent writing on Shakespeare's relation to Essex and Southampton is the Comtesse de Chambrun's *Shakespeare Acteur Poète* (Paris: Plon, 1926. Pp. 316; English translation, Appleton,

1927. Pp. 357). This book has been cast somewhat hastily aside as a romantic biography for French readers. It is true that the author accepts many doubtful traditions as true and uses them as a basis for interpretation; true, she falls in with Mr. Arthur Acheson and betters him in the reconstruction of a largely imaginary social intercourse between Shakespeare and a group sympathetic to Essex—Southampton, Chapman, Gervase Markham, Francis Bacon, Sir Aston Cockaine, Sir John Harington, and especially John Florio. The sonnets become for her the Romance of Friendship and Love, and the Shakespeare-Southampton-Davenant hypothesis is accepted as "the only one which has any evidence behind it"; and yet such is her skill in the use of materials that she has given the most plausible version of this now familiar romance.

In 1923 appeared Sir Edmund Chambers' *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford Univ. Press), since whose appearance the study of the Elizabethan stage and drama has been a different and a more expeditious process. Sir Edmund himself has made corrections and additions to his work since its publication (*Elizabethan Stage Gleanings,* R.E.S., I, 75-8, 182-6), and the numerous reviewers of the book were particularly rich in their contributions. Noteworthy among them was the late Professor T. Shirley Graves (*Recent Literature of the English Renaissance,* S.P., XXI, 413-6), from whose abundant learning there would have come, but for his untimely death, further valuable corrections and additions. That year saw also Miss Lily B. Campbell's *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance* (Cambridge Univ. Press. Pp. x, 302). In 1924 appeared the magnificent *Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court* (Oxford Univ. Press) by Mr. Percy Simpson and Mr. C. F. Bell. Notice should also be taken of Mr. W. J. Lawrence's *The Physical Conditions of the Elizabethan Public Playhouse* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1927) and other writings by the same author. Mr. H. N. Hillebrand's *The Child Actors: A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, No. XI. Nos. 1 and 2. Pp. 335) was published in 1926.

The final statement of the case of *Shakespeare's Hand in The Play of Sir Thomas More* (Cambridge Univ. Press. Pp. vi, 146) came out under the title italicized also in the year 1923. In this very honest book Messrs. Pollard, Greg, Wilson, and Chambers, and Sir E. Maunde Thompson presented the argument for Shakespeare's authorship of the three pages dealing with the *Ill May Day* and left the matter to the judgment of the scholarly world. The subject has, as might have been expected, attracted great attention. The more

important work has been in opposition. In the latest edition of Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare,* published posthumously in 1925, Sir Sidney expressed scepticism, in which he was followed in the same year by Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum (*Shakespeare's Unquestioned Autographs and the Addition to "Sir Thomas More,"* S.P., XXII, 133-160). Dr. Tannenbaum boldly set his own ability as a paleographer against that of Sir E. Maunde Thompson, regarded the evidence as inadequate and in part erroneous, and declared the evidence "overwhelmingly" against identity between the hand of the signatures and the hand of the addition to MS. Harl. 7368. Professor L. L. Schücking in an article in the Review of English Studies (*Shakespeare and "Sir Thomas More,"* I, 40-59) made an attack on the hypothesis on literary grounds. We thus found ourselves in a situation where doctors disagreed, and we had merely the rather easy task of choosing the doctors; but Dr. Tannenbaum was not willing to let the matter rest at this stage. He published in 1927 *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore* (Privately printed. New York, 1927. Pp. vii, 135), a complete study of the manuscript play, assigning it to the hands of Henry Chettle, Thomas Heywood, and Thomas Kyd. This provoked from Dr. W. W. Greg a masterly, though unnecessarily acrimonious, review of the whole controversy (*Shakespeare's Hand Once More,* L. T. S., Nov. 24, 1927, p. 871, and Dec. 1, 1927, p. 908). Dr. Greg admitted that the available paleographical data are hardly sufficient to warrant an absolute conclusion in Shakespeare's favor but declared that the claim rested on "the convergence of a number of independent lines of argument—paleographic, orthographic, linguistic, stylistic, psychological." The paleographic evidence alone he thought sufficient to "incline the balance of probability in favor of identification." With this judicial statement the case may in the meantime be allowed to rest, and no great attention need be paid to the minor controversies which still rage.

The new bibliographical scholarship, of which the studies just discussed are examples, was further represented in the year 1923 by that most important book, *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements: The Battle of Alcazar and Orlando Furioso,* by Dr. W. W. Greg (apparently first issued in the publications of the Malone Society and later by Sidgwick and Jackson in London; also by Professor A. W. Pollard's *The Foundations of Shakespeare's Text* (Annual Shakespeare Lecture, 1923, of the British Academy); by Mr. R. Crompton Rhodes's *Shakespeare's First Folio* (Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. 147); and by the publication by the Cambridge University Press of *Much Ado about Nothing* and *Love's Labour's Lost* under the editorship of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and

Professor J. Dover Wilson. The reviewers of that year were disposed to regard the methods of Professor Wilson as "throwing down a gage which conservative scholarship must take up"; but his work in those plays and others which have followed proved to be so sane, so learned and ingenious, that the foolish epithet of "disintegrator" has been withdrawn. It turns out to be an excellent edition of Shakespeare, especially as regards the text. In the later volumes the lines are numbered, and one grows used to the Landor-like little dots used in punctuation, in the attempt of the editors to achieve rhetorical effects. In a number of cases, notably *Much Ado, As You Like It, Measure for Measure, The Comedy of Errors,* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Mr. Wilson has been able to determine with great probability earlier forms of the comedies than those of the texts preserved. It may be that his work is less successful in *The Tempest* (the most carefully edited of all), *The Taming of the Shrew, The Merchant of Venice,* and *All's Well that Ends Well;* but so far from "disintegrating" Shakespeare by showing him, as often, engaged in the task of revision, Mr. Wilson may be said to give us a new and brilliant impression of Shakespeare's genius. Two studies of single plays, both published by the Oxford University Press for the Shakespeare Association, appeared about this time, namely, Professor T. M. Parrott's *The Problem of "Timon of Athens"* (1923) and Mr. A. E. Morgan's *Some Problems of Shakespeare's "Henry the Fourth"* (1924). The former is a sound and careful piece of scholarship in the older style; the latter, a bibliographical study of great perspicacity. The work of Dr. B.A.P. Van Dam commands respect. He is a scholar of pronounced and original views and of great industry and thoroughness. His methods, which are not unlike those of the current English group (though it is doubtful if Dr. Van Dam would suffer himself to be so classified), rank him as one of the most modern of Shakespereans; in some respects, however, he chooses to be quite old-fashioned. For example, no scholar holds on more tenaciously to the pirate stenographer of the last generation and opposes with more vigor the entry of his successor the pirate actor. In *The Text of Shakespeare's Hamlet* (London: Lane, 1924. Pp. vii, 380) he advances the idea that Shakespeare wrote almost entirely perfect five-foot lines, and this principle he uses to rectify Shakespeare's text, the actor and the prompter becoming responsible for most of the irregularities and inconsistencies in the text of *Hamlet.* Although this idea has been frowned upon by most critics, it is nevertheless true that in many cases Dr. Van Dam is right, and the idea that dramatic blank verse was often written with formal correctness is a good one. He also finds, both in *Hamlet* and in *Romeo and Juliet* (*Did Shakespeare revise "Romeo and Juliet"?* Anglia,

N. F. XXXIX, 39-62), instances where the text of the bad quarto supplements the text of the good one. Again, whether or not the specific case is well taken, the idea is a good one.

Bibliographical scholarship has found, at least in so far as it concerns the printed book, its text-book maker in Mr. R. B. McKerrow. *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. Pp. xv, 359) is an expansion of Mr. McKerrow's valuable *Notes on Bibliographical Evidence,* published in the twelfth volume of the Transactions of the Bibliographical Society. It is a detailed and comprehensive explanation of all the processes involved in the transition from manuscript to printed book, an invaluable work which will lead, as time goes on, to more and more careful scholarship. A book of very considerable scope involving the consideration of many bibliographical processes and all that has to do with the history of the printing of plays for a long period is Miss Evelyn May Albright's *Dramatic Publication in England,* 1580-1640; *a Study of Conditions affecting Form and Content in Drama* (M.L.A. Monograph Series, II. New York: Heath, 1927. Pp. 442). The book was violently assailed in reviews by two leading English critics, but it was plain after the reading of the book with care, and especially after the reading of Miss Albright's well considered defense, that the author had been mainly criticized for not doing the things she had not attempted to do and that the faults of the book, though abundant, were of a minor character. Perhaps some umbrage was taken at the author's independence of opinion on various matters pertaining to publication which were otherwise regarded by her critics.

Sir Edmund Chambers has regarded somewhat apprehensively the work of the bibliographical critics, as witnessed by his sensationally named Annual Shakespeare Lecture (1924) before the British Academy, *The Disintegration of Shakespeare.* The lecture is, however, aimed principally at Mr. J. M. Robertson and contains a vigorous protest against the finding of non-Shakespearean matter in the plays of the First Folio.[2] Mr. Robertson's work on the Shakespeare canon has risen to very considerable dimensions and has apparently been less and less regarded as its bulk has increased. *The Shakespeare Canon* has three parts, published in 1922, 1923, and 1925. *An Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon Proceeding on the Problem of "Titus Andronicus"* came out in 1924 (All parts, London: Routledge). As everyone knows, Mr.

[2] See also Sir Edmund Chambers, *The Integrity of The Tempest,* R.E.S., I, 129-150.

Robertson assigns various parts of various plays to various dramatists other than Shakespeare. He has been rather vigorously abused, and few scholars have been willing to accept his conclusions; but no scholar who begins his work by giving so fair and full an exposition of the views of his predecessors can be wholly bad, and no mind so vigorous and so well informed can fail to make contributions of value and importance.

A really significant piece of modern scholarship is *Restoring Shakespeare* by Professor Leon Kellner of Vienna (London: Allen and Unwin, 1925. Pp. xii, 216). In this book Professor Kellner makes an attempt to work out a scientific method of criticizing the text of Shakespeare. His work is in line with that of Dr. Greg and Professor Wilson on the treatment of spellings and misprints in Shakespearean texts. The misreading of handwriting by the printer or copyist is the main source of textual error which he studies, though he allows also for other causes of misprints. He makes a rubric of operation by determining first just what misprints are known to have been made and shows from it what misprints were liable or possible. His *emendationes certissimae* are cases which arise when, there being two texts of the passage, one text corrects the other, and cases of emendations of various scholars which have been met with general acceptance. The work is provided with extensive tables showing the forms of letters and combinations of letters in the Elizabethan hand. The book has been criticized because of insufficient allowance for the mnemonic errors of compositors, because of Pofessor Kellner's failure to discriminate more sharply between good and bad texts, and because of his disposition to provide emendations for readings which to enlightened English readers require no emendations at all.

What might be described as the capstone of bibliographical criticism is Dr. W. W. Greg's *The Principles of Emendation in Shakespeare,* Annual Shakespeare Lecture (1928) of the British Academy (Oxford Univ. Press, 1928. Pp. 72). No sounder, saner, or more practical work has yet appeared in the field. Dr. Greg succeeds in putting into concise form the principles of the whole enterprise. It is a quite simple thing and one of which we had all been conscious for a long time, but it needed to be said. "No emendation," he says, "can, or ought to be, considered *in vacuo,* but that criticism must always proceed in relation to what we know, or what we surmise, respecting the history of the text."

Professor Schücking has issued a second revised edition of his *Die Charakter probleme bei Shakespeare* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1927. Pp. 286), and

Professor Stoll has gathered together, supplemented, and in part rewritten the greater portion of his various papers on Shakespeare, *Shakespeare Studies, Historical and Comparative in Method* (New York: Macmillan, 1927. Pp. xi, 502). Professor Karl Young in several papers, particularly in *Samuel Johnson on Shakespeare; One Aspect* (Studies by Members of the Department of English, University of Wisconsin, No. 18, pp. 146-226), has thrown light on the subject of the "sceptical" point of view in Shakespeare criticism. By "sceptical" point of view in Shakespeare is meant distrust of any interpretation which is not warranted by the intention of the author and controlled by his limitations as a man and an Elizabethan.

Professor T. W. Baldwin's important work, *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1927. Pp. xii, 464), supplemented the same year by an article on *Posting Henslowe's Accounts* (J. E. G. P., XXVI, 42-90), is, first of all, a study of the Elizabethan theatrical company,—sharers, householders, hired men, prompters, apprentices, methods of procedure, and sources of profit and loss. In the second place, it offers a new method of chronology and a new factor for the determination of Shakespeare's characterization. With regard to the latter, the author works out from both ends the "lines" or kinds of parts possible and customary in Shakespearean drama. About 1590 there is a fairly adequate knowledge of the small dramatic company and the cast of *The Seven Deadly Sins.* After 1610 there are the casts of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson's *Poetaster,* etc. From these later plays Professor Baldwin works backward through the dark period to his beginning, employing as he does so every scrap of available information as to what actors played what parts. He relies also upon the supposition that Shakespeare and other dramatists fitted the ages and personal appearances of their characters to the actors for whom they were writing, a supposition which in many cases seems to justify itself. Various lines of procedure are suggested by the book, but so far no advantage has been taken of the suggestions, possibly because Professor Baldwin has pre-empted the field by the promise of other extensive works in progress.

Only a few of the remaining works on Shakespeare which intervene between 1923 and 1929 can now be mentioned. One would recall the completion of the Yale Shakespeare (Yale Univ. Press) and the Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen) and the progress of the Player's Shakespeare, edited by Mr. H. Granville Barker (London: Benn); Mr. Richmond Noble's work on *Shakespeare's Use of Song* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1923. Pp. 160); Professor C.

R. Baskervill's article on *Bassanio as an Ideal Lover* in *The Manly Anniversary Studies* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1923); Mr. W. H. Spielman's *A Comparative Study of the Droeshout Portrait and the Stratford Monument* and other papers in *Studies in the First Folio* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1924. Pp. 182); Mr. T. G. Tucker's edition of *The Sonnets of Shakespeare* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1924) and the still more distinguished work on the same subject by Mr. J. A. Fort (*Two Dated Sonnets of Shakespeare*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1924. Pp. 47. *Thorpe's Text of Shakespeare's Sonnets,* R. E. S., II, 439-445. *The Time Scheme of the First Series of Shakespeare's Sonnets,* Nineteenth Century, C, 272-9. *The Story contained in the Second Series of Shakespeare's Sonnets,* R. E. S., III, 406-414); Professor G. B. Harrison's edition of *The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmark, 1603,* in the Bodley Head Quartos (London: Lane, 1924); Professor George Coffin Taylor's successful and convincing book on *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1925. Pp. vi, 66); Professor O. J. Campbell's papers on *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* in *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne* (New York: Macmillan, 1925); Professor E. P. Kuhl's *The Authorship of "The Taming of the Shrew"* (P. M. L. A., XL, 551-618); Sir Israel Gollancz's *The Sources of Hamlet: With an Essay on the Legend* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. 321); Miss Ruth L. Anderson's *Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays* (Univ. of Iowa Press, 1927. Pp. 182); Professor Tucker Brooke's *Shakespeare of Stratford* (Yale Univ. Press, 1926. Pp. 177); Professor Alison Gaw's *The Origin and Development of "I Henry VI"* (Los Angeles: Univ. of Southern California, 1927); Mr. W. J. Lawrence's *Shakespeare's Workshop* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1928. Pp. ix, 116); Professor F. E. Schelling's *Shakespeare and Demi-Science* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1927); and Professor Hazelton Spencer's study of Restoration versions of Shakespeare in quarto and on the stage in *Shakespeare Improved* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1928. Pp. vi, 406).

Several important studies of the punctuation of Elizabethan books have been made since 1923. The late Professor Raymond Macdonald Alden in a moderate and sane article *(Punctuation of Shakespeare's Printers,* P. M. L. A., XXXIX, 557-580) pointed out the inconsistencies of Elizabethan printers. Professor C. C. Fries, *Shakespearean Punctuation* (in Studies in *Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne.* New York: Macmillan, 1925), after an examination of the Latin and English text-books of rhetoric and grammar of the time, presents negative findings as regards the elocutionary theory of Shakespeare's punctuation. Mr. Hilary Jenkinson in *Notes on the Study of English Punctuation of*

the Sixteenth Century (R. E. S., II, 152-8), basing his study on the practices manifested in public documents, also stresses the fluidity and uncertainty of Elizabethan punctuation.

When one turns from this survey to the year just over, 1929, one is disappointed at the relative bareness of the prospect. One of the most valuable books of the year is Sir Dunbar Plunket Barton's *Links between Shakespeare and the Law* (London: Faber and Gwyer, 1929. Pp. xxxix, 167), since it possibly puts an end to a widely current belief in extraordinary legal knowledge on Shakespeare's part. Shakespeare is shown to have been inferior in this respect to Dekker, Jonson, and other writers, possessed indeed of no legal knowledge not easily accounted for by his own and his father's experience with the law, by his knowledge of Holinshed and the chronicles, and by the great popularity of legal matters in Elizabeth's reign. Sir Dunbar writes interestingly on the Inns of Court, their various members, and Shakespeare's probable acquaintanceship among men in the legal profession.

Another book which stands out prominently in the year's publications is Mr. Peter Alexander's *Shakespeare's "Henry VI" and "Richard III"* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1929. Pp. 230). It is an expansion of articles by the author in the Literary Supplement to *The Times* (London) in the autumn of 1924 (*"II Henry VI" and the Copy for "The Contention"*, October 9, pp. 629-630, and *"III Henry VI" and "Richard, Duke of York"*, November 13, p. 730). Mr. Alexander attempts to show, by a bibliographical examination of the texts, that *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York* are corrupt versions of *2* and *3 Henry VI* and may, therefore, be added to the number of "bad" quartos of Shakespeare's plays. It is notable that Mr. Alexander, seconded by Mr. A. W. Pollard in an introduction to the volume, gives reason for believing what had become more and more obvious, namely, that piracy was often, I think usually, done for the sake of acting on the stage and not for the sake of printing, which was more or less incidental and an after effect. Mr. Alexander's treatment of *1 Henry VI* and *Richard III* is brief, his purpose being to show that they, together with *2* and *3 Henry VI* and *Titus Andronicus*, are undoubtedly of Shakespeare's own composition. During the year one volume was added to *The Works of Shakespeare*, edited by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Professor John Dover Wilson (Cambridge Univ. Press), namely, *All's Well That Ends Well*. It is a disappointing volume in nearly all respects except the text, which is excellent. Perhaps it was too much to expect that even Professor Wilson could solve for us the riddle of the composition of that

play. That he has achieved progress towards a solution there can be little doubt, but the play remains a perplexity. Professor Wilson's Annual Shakespeare Lecture (1929) of the British Academy (*The Elizabethan Shakespeare,* Oxford Univ. Press, 1929. Pp. 27) is not a technical performance, but is quite plain and interpretative. He tries to make us see Shakespeare as an Elizabethan and at the same time to connect a wide background of history and custom with his own work as a Shakespeare scholar and with that of others of his school. Mr. Edwin E. Willoughby (*A Note on the Pagination of the First Folio,* M. L. N., XLIV, 373-4; *A Note on the Typography of the Running Titles of the First Folio,* Library, N. S. IX, 385-7; *The Typography of the Act-Headings of the First Folio,* R. E. S., V, 198-200) has done valuable detailed work, to which the readers of italic cypher may well have their attention invited. He shows that Jaggard's printers in a number of cases used the same setting of type with a minimum of alterations to print the headlines of successive plays.

Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum has rather shocked the learned world by reopening the question of the authenticity of the accounts of the Revels Office for 1604-5, 1611-2, of which it was long the fashion to regard Peter Cunningham as the forger, a question apparently set at rest in 1911 by Mr. Ernest Law. Dr. Tannenbaum has, moreover, opened the matter in such a way as to command attention. In the vigorous controversy which has followed the publication of his book *(Shakespeare Forgeries in the Revels Accounts.* Columbia Univ. Press, 1928. Pp. xiv, 109) his case against the authenticity of the documents has suffered and the records restored in some measure to the standing given them by the work of Mr. Law. Without entering into details and without any pretense of passing upon the issue, it may be said that the items affecting the dates of certain Shakespeare plays are so probable on other and more general grounds that Shakespeareans need not be greatly disturbed. One cannot avoid some sympathy with the German critic who recently began his review of the question with the caption *Shakespeare-Fälschungen und kein Ende.*

Not many of the lines of study appearing in 1923 have been in the year 1929 so fruitful as the bibliographical or technical method. The year was, however, shall we say rich? in rather wild historical and allegorical interpetation. Mr. Percy Allen in *Shakespeare and Chapman as Topical Dramatists* (London: Cecil Palmer, 1929. Pp. 280) finds what seem to be impossibly intricate and remote historical events reflected in the drama of Shakespeare and Chapman. We are asked to believe that *Twelfth Night* is based on Alen-

çon's courtship of Queen Elizabeth and that *Hamlet* is based on the life of Edward de Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford. Chapman comes into the picture by his supposed confirmation of the topical presentation. The earlier work of Miss Winstanley had great merit and some sobriety, too little apparent in her more recent studies of *Othello* and Essex: Mr. Allen seems to disregard the laws of evidence and the principles of proof. Mr. B. M. Ward in *Shakespeare and the Anglo-Spanish War* (Rev. anglo-américaine, 6e an., 297-311) maintains that Shakespeare's historical plays, all written between 1590 and 1600, were propaganda against the Spanish. Mr. G. Wilson Knight in *Myth and Miracle, an Essay on the Mystic Symbolism of Shakespeare* (London: E. J. Burrow, 1929. Pp. 32) follows and exaggerates the theories of Dowden and Brandes as to the reflection of Shakespeare's personality, mind, and heart in the plays of the later period, relying for his findings mainly on his own "transcendental apprehensions." *Madness in Shakespearian Tragedy* (London: Richards Press, 1929. Pp. vii, 207) is a book by H. Somerville, apparently a physician, who attempts to prove the thesis that Shakespeare's great tragic characters exemplify various kinds of insanity. The basis is anachronistic, since the author treats the characters as real people and not characters in drama; but of course the book reveals much. The reason for success in such a study is the large measure of correctness to be found in Elizabethan doctrines of insanity. Of this aspect of Elizabethan psychology, however, the author seems not to have availed himself in his consideration of his subject.

The really valuable part of Professor Alwin Thaler's *Shakespeare's Silences* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1929. Pp. x, 279) is not the imperfectly convincing literary essay from which the book takes its title but other parts of the miscellany, such as the illuminating studies of Shakespeare's influence on Sir Thomas Browne and on John Milton. Miss Caroline F. E. Spurgeon's *Keats's Shakespeare: A Descriptive Essay* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1928) is a delightful book, but about Keats rather than Shakespeare. It is nevertheless interesting to Shakespeareans because it reveals in vivid detail a poet speaking to a poet. Mr. A. C. Bradley's *A Miscellany* (London: Macmillan, 1929. Pp. 267) contains essays on *Coriolanus, Feste the Jester,* and *Scene-endings in Shakespeare and in "The Two Noble Kinsmen."* The first and second of these have been earlier printed elsewhere.

Through the loyalty and kindness of Professor H. D. Gray an edition of *Much Ado About Nothing* prepared by the late Professor A. G. Newcomer has been perfected in small details and seen through the press (Stanford

Univ. Press, 1929. Pp. 275). It is a parallel passage edition and as such is of curious interest. It throws more than casual light on many passages of the play, and it cannot be doubted that it reflects, in the evidence of Shakespeare's repeating himself, the habits of his mind. Dr. R. W. Babcock has published *A Preliminary Bibliography of Eighteenth-Century Criticism of Shakespeare* (S. P., Extra Series, I, 58-98). Mr. Arthur Ernest Baker's *A Shakespeare Dictionary* (Taunton: the Author, current) has reached the tenth part. It is a full though somewhat elementary reference cyclopædia of Shakespeare, his sources, dates, characters, and backgrounds. Mr. Georges Connes' Baconian work *Le Mystère Shakespearien* (Paris: Boivin, 1926) has a new lease of life in an English translation (London: Cecil Palmer, 1927) and has been widely reviewed in 1929. Germany has greeted with enthusiasm Friedrich Gundolf's *Shakespeare, sein Wesen und Werk* (Berlin: Bondi, 1928. Pp. 467), successor to his impassioned *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist,* which reached its eighth enlarged edition in 1927. Professor E. P. Kuhl has published further studies of Shakespeare's relation to Essex (*"My Wealthy Andrew",* L. T. S., December 27, 1928, p. 1025; *Shakespeare and Hayward,* S. P., XXV, 312-5; *"The Wanton Wife of Bath" and Queen Elizabeth,* S. P., XXVI, 177-183). *Die neun Dichter des Hamlet* by Professor Wilhelm Marschall (Heidelberg: Marstrand, 1929. Pp. 75) goes, as the title indicates, somewhat far in the attribution of multiple authorship.

Such then is my review of current trends in Shakespeare scholarship.

When one endeavors to predict the future trend, rather than describe the present trend of Shakespeare scholarship, perplexities are rapidly multiplied. The idea of studying Shakespeare from the point of view of his revisions, a thing rendered possible by the bibliographical method, is inspiring and revelatory. It will be a long time before the New Cambridge Shakespeare is complete, and its editors cannot and do not expect to solve all the problems. The text of Shakespeare needs careful and discriminating work along the lines laid down by Dr. Greg, Dr. McKerrow, Professor Wilson, and Professor Kellner. Incidentally it may be said that research in matters of text and of composition (affecting often questions of authorship) needs to be carried through the whole field of Elizabethan drama. Additional external evidence affecting the problem of the Sonnets as well as of Shakespeare's relation to Southampton and Essex is much needed. Whether the present methods of bold conjecture, on the one hand, and of the careful fitting in of small bits,

on the other, will result in proof of any current hypothesis is a matter of doubt. This subject is, at any rate, engrossing much attention. It may be pardonable to say that important work is yet to be done in the determination of the intellectual background of Shakespeare and his contemporaries.

SHAKESPEARE

1564 — 1616

Not thine the threescore years and ten
So often given to lesser men,
Brief was thy span.

Next Holy book shall thine be placed;
Oft through the Scriptures hast thou traced
For Golden store.

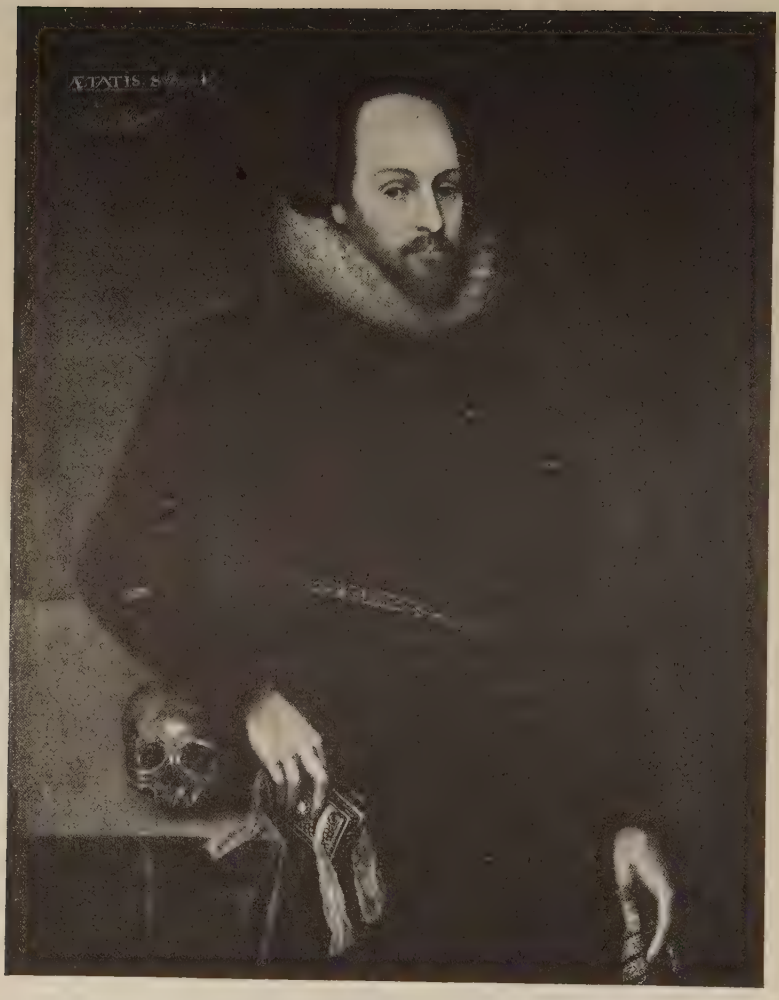
From heavy lives thy words lift weight
And send men's souls to Heaven's gate
With larks to sing.

Thy mind the lowliest can reach,
The wondrous witchery of thy speech
English begems.

Thou, from a twilight village, wrought
And to the court of letters brought
Torches that light the world.

AUGUSTA RAYMOND KIDDER.

Shakespeare Day
April 23d, 1929.



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE
FAMOUS "ASHBOURNE" PORTRAIT
OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

The property of Mr. Eustace Conway, a member of the Shakespeare Association of America.

Reproduced through the kindness of the American Art Association and Anderson Galleries, Inc., from Catalogue 3800.

The Ashbourne Portrait of Shakespeare

By Robert M. Smith

The advent to America in 1928 of the Ashbourne portrait of Shakespeare has not received the attention it deserves. When the portrait came to its first public auction at Sotheby's in June of that year, it brought the round price of $5,000., certainly not a sum which would command an unquestioned portrait of the "Sweet Swan of Avon". Mr. Eustace Conway of New York, who became the first American owner of the Ashbourne portrait, offered it for sale with selections from his library at the American Art Association and Anderson Galleries, Inc., December 16, 1929. On that evening the smooth flow of the bidding suddenly ceased, the dark curtains on the platform closed, and after a period of silent waiting the curtains opened to disclose a handsome oil painting, 47½ by 37½ inches, set against a crimson background. "This is the famous Ashbourne portrait of Shakespeare. Shall we start this painting at $5,000?" There was no response. Finally a bidder offered $1,000, and after a brief succession of hesitant and desultory rising bids, the portrait was sold at an unfortunate time after the slump in the stock market, which had already worked disaster at the Williams' sale in November. Others said that certain prominent dealers and Shakespeare collectors believed that the gentleman of the portrait was not Shakespeare but somebody else. Others asserted that it was a beautiful painting, possibly of the Bard, but that it had no authentic pedigree. One gentleman gave as his reason that the American people were not interested in 'relics', yet on the succeeding evening a grim and gory reminder of Lincoln's assassination, the rocking chair in which he sat in Ford's Theatre—"with authentic blood stains on the right arm—etc.," attracted the pocketbook of some purchaser with more zeal than taste to the extent of $2,400! The Ashbourne portrait, a beautiful and memorable painting, an adornment to any public or private Shakespeare Library, went for less than twice as much, being knocked down to Mr. A. J. Scheuer (for Mr. Conway) for $4,000.

Of all the opinions proffered, the doubt of authenticity naturally carried in the minds of potential purchasers greatest weight. Yet two factors seem to have been lost sight of: (1) No reproduction of Shakespeare's features exists that has not been questioned by someone—Baconian or what not. (2) No expert on iconography has denied that the Ashbourne portrait may be genuine.

(1) To require either a portrait from life, or an authentic pedigree for a

portrait of Shakespeare at this late day is to demand the impossible. Orthodox Shakespeareans believe that Ben Jonson knew whereof he wrote when he requested readers of the First Folio to look for Shakespeare's likeness not on the crude engraving which the young Martin Droeshout supplied for the title-page, but on the book. The Stratford Bust, the only other likeness that enjoys the reputation of authenticity, was not taken from life, nor from a death mask. Yet these facts should not arouse alarm, for Mr. M. H. Spielmann, the accepted authority on Shakespeare iconography, has abundantly demonstrated, what most skeptics ignore, that "down to the early nineteenth century, publishers and engravers, cared nothing for truth of rendering, unless circumstances compelled". Only "the advent of photography brought truth along with it, and swept the fraudulent draughtsman and engraver from the field." (*Shakespeare's Portraiture, Studies in the First Folio,* Oxford, 1924. pp. 5-6.) Not even the *Chandos,* the most popularly received portrait, has an unquestioned pedigree, and the same is true of the *Flower,* the *Janssen,* and the *Felton.* Yet the spurious *Felton* at the Burdett-Coutts sale brought from America, to the amusement of Englishmen, the final bid of £1,522.

We should not be surprised, then, that J. Parker Norris, in his illustrated *Portraits of Shakespeare,* Philadelphia, 1886, begins his description of the Ashbourne portrait with the statement that it has no pedigree. This fact might be held in its favor in view of the spurious pedigrees of other portraits; but the argument from pedigree must be set aside as of no consequence. "Pedigree and tradition," says Mr. Spielmann, "are the commonest ingredients in a portrait 'fake'." Such, for example, is the tradition given by Oldys to the *Chandos,* namely, that it was painted by Burbage, Shakespeare's fellow-actor, and that it belonged to Joseph Taylor, an actor of Shakespeare's time, who afterwards gave it to Davenant.

(2) Doubtless the opinion of Sidney Lee, who was not an expert in iconography, has carried most weight against the authenticity of the Ashbourne portrait. In his *Life of Shakespeare,* 1925, p. 533-4, he lists it with other "*wholly unauthentic* (italics mine) portraits that have attracted public attention." Curiously, however, Lee's only authority for this unqualified assertion in the negative is Mr. Spielmann. If we turn to Mr. Spielmann's painstaking examination of the portrait (*The Connoisseur,* April-May, 1910; also the Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXIV, p. 790) we find no grounds for Lee's dogmatic assertion. Certainly Mr. Spielmann's fair and friendly exposition of its claims to genuineness does not warrant any such conclusion. Mr. Spielmann's posi-

tion, on the contrary, is that *it may be genuine,* though he has carefully elucidated the points in the portrait that are suspicious, that suggest "a fake". But—pedigree, or no pedigree—if we were seeking for the representation of an ideal Shakespeare and were compelled to make a choice between the dark, long-haired Italian with the ring in his ear (Chandos), the 'hydrocephalous' Droeshout, the 'wooden' Stratford Bust, and the dignified and beautiful Ashbourne figure, we would, I venture to say, prefer the Ashbourne, for, as Mr. Spielmann avers, "at first glance it wins the sympathy of the beholder".

In *The Connoisseur,* referred to above, Mr. Spielmann has given the following admirable description of the painting:

> "The three-quarter-length standing figure is of the size of life. The high forehead, auburn hair, light beard, and general aspect, and the fairness of the skin with its delicate flush of carnation bloom upon the cheeks, belong notably to one of the most favoured types of Shakespeare—the Jansen portrait and its copies—but are in sharp contrast with the swarthy face and dark hair of the Chandos portrait. The eyes are a nondescript brownish grey, dark in tone; but it must be remembered that the colour of eyes in a portrait often fades and changes owing to the thinness of the pigment so used in order to preserve transparency. The ear has no ring. The multifold ruff, zig-zagged, yellowish in tint, with high lights of a stronger yellow, almost seems to be by another hand, and is certainly the most, and indeed the only, scamped part of the picture. The doublet is of black or grey-black material approximating to velvet, with warm grey lights on the folds. Round the waist, with a downward point in the middle of the body, is a narrow sword or dagger belt—a "dress" belt—embroidered with gold, and in the left hand is held a glove with gauntlet of crimson richly embroidered with bands of gold—just such a dress, belt, and glove as we see in the portrait of James Douglas, Earl of Morton, who died in 1851—that is to say, thirty years before the date of this picture. At the corner of the rather crude red table cloth, with its unexpected creases, stands a skull upon which rests the right lower arm, and around the wrists are small figure-eight edged ruffs (rather than ruffles) with small white corded edging. Upon the left-hand thumb, a member of unusual length, is a gold signet-ring; and held in the right hand a gold embroidered book with broad red silk tie-ribbons of the same colour as the table cloth, its pages kept slightly open by the insertion of the forefinger. This book might be, from its style and luxurious binding, a missal or similar devotional volume, save for what is claimed for a mask and cross-spears appearing upon it. The hands are yellowish in tone, not mellow like the face, but

> are delicate in form and correspond in character to the elegance and ideality of the head, with its refinement, its almost effeminacy of expression, plaintive, sad, and rather startled in its look. At some early period the hair seems to have been retouched, or re-varnished with a bituminous medium, perhaps at the same time as the ruff at the throat, simple repairs rendered necessary by rough cleaning of parts—such as we see in the skull, which has been rubbed down till, here and there, the red of the table cloth shows through. This ruddy glow is clearly the result of injudicious cleaning and not of reflection, for perspective would prevent the tone falling so high, as it is found more on the cranium than on the upper jaw and teeth. A noteworthy effect is the rather hard outline of the figure against the lighter background, especially in the diamond-shaped space between the right arm and the body.
>
> We thus have the presentment of a handsome, courtly gentleman, well formed and of good bearing, and apparently of high breeding, thoughtful, and contemplative; so sincere in expression and presentation that the picture cannot be regarded in any sense as a theatrical portrait."

Mr. Spielmann goes on to show that the thumb-ring is not out of keeping in a portrait of Shakespeare, and that the skull, a conventional device introduced in numerous portraits of the period, is not inappropriate in a picture of the poet. This picture, he affirms, "is pretty clearly an original and no copy". The painter was "highly capable", and "quite possibly may have been Paul Van Somer." Moreover, there are good grounds for believing that the date and inscription "may be perfectly genuine". They have not, like those on the *Janssen,* been tampered with.

The evidence pointing strongly to Shakespeare is the mask on the embroidered book cover, behind which two spears are crossed. Abraham Wivell, the Victorian authority on Shakespeare portraits, considered this evidence conclusive. Unfortunately it is this very evidence, in Mr. Spielmann's opinion, which weakens rather than strengthens the argument for authenticity:

> "It is to be doubted whether anyone, even elementarily conversant with heraldry, would have taken the single spear from the shield (the device on Shakespeare's monument in Stratford), and crossed it for the sake of the pattern; so that this detail, if *it is weighed upon at all,* so far from strengthening the claim of the picture, would rather cast suspicion upon it, especially if we believe that Shakespeare was none too proud of his relations with the stage, and would hardly

wish to have them perpetuated in a portrait executed by a highly capable painter as a bequest to posterity."

"The lettering," he continues, "is not uncharacteristic of the period, and although it is true that the two main points of evidence calculated to establish, in some measure, at least, the identity of the picture as a Shakespeare portrait—the inscription and the embroidered cover of the book—are painted as if of an orange tone of gold, and, unlike the rest of the paint, the orange gold stands in slight relief on the surface, it is equally true that the thumb-ring, which seeks to present no claim to special recognition—no monogram or other distinguishable device—was painted at the same time, in the same color, and with the same degree of relief."

I have quoted this last passage from Mr. Spielmann's essay in full because of the alleged new evidence for authenticity (a written statement and two photographs) which Mr. Conway brought forward, and deposited with the portrait at the time of the sale. In contradiction to Mr. Spielmann's statement that there is "no monogram or other distinguishable device upon the seal of the thumb-ring," Mr. Conway contends that the seal ring is Shakespeare's own. Mr. Conway writes:

"There are two instruments signed by Shakespeare with a seal attached. The first, which is signed by him, but sealed by his scrivener is in the British Museum [i. e. the mortgage deed of the house in Blackfriars]. The other, signed and apparently sealed by Shakespeare with his own seal, is in the Guildhall Library in London [i. e. the purchase deed of the house in Blackfriars, March 10, 1612-3]. A photograph is attached, and also a slightly enlarged photograph of the seal ring in the picture. These seem to be the same, and, assuming, as the experts here think, that the seal ring and the book held in the other hand were painted at the same time as the picture, it would seem to show that the picture is a contemporary picture of Shakespeare. The seal was a very important matter, almost as important as the signature at that time, and no artist, painting a subject, would of course after the subject's death be able to find his seal ring to copy it."

This argument is so full of assumptions and inferences, of "seem's" and "apparently's", of what Roosevelt termed "weasel words", that we should be free to discount it on these grounds alone, but there are other obvious objections:

(1) The resemblance of the marks on the ring to the letters on the seal

of the deed is by no means apparent. As Mr. Spielmann has stated, "there is on the ring no monogram or other distinguishable device." Moreover, Mr. Conway does not say whether the marks on the seal of the ring are *W. S.*, or what they are.

(2) Mr. Conway gives no grounds for his statement that the seal of the purchase deed (Guildhall) is Shakespeare's own. It is certain that the letters on it are *H. L.* (see Lee's *Life of Shakespeare,* 1925, photographs opposite pages 459 and 460), and that they came from the same source as the *H. L.* on the seal of the mortgage deed (British Museum). They are of the same date and are in both instances the initials of Henry Lawrence, servant or clerk to Robert Andrewes, the scrivener who drew the deeds. Lee writes: "Lawrence's seal, bearing his intials *H. L.* was stamped in each case on the parchment tag, across the head of which Shakespeare wrote his name" (op. cit, p. 460).

(3) Mr. Conway's argument, therefore, has a vicious conclusion. If accepted it would prove that the portrait is Henry Lawrence!—a conclusion the recent owner would doubtless be loath to admit.

Mr. Conway continues, however, with a second argument which favorably expresses the evidence for Shakespeare provided by the book held in the right hand of the gentleman.

> "The book also is some clue. It is evidently a theatrical book because it has a mask or a stage makeup on it together with two crossed spears, and no nobleman or other prominent person would be likely to be holding a book with a stage makeup on it at that time except a playwright or writer, and no other playwright or writer was of this particular age, which is shown above by printed letters in the appropriate script of the time. Two spears appear on Shakespeare's coat of arms and crest, and the artist would make these symmetrical."

This statement most believers in the authenticity of the portrait will be inclined to accept, and they cannot go far astray in doing so if they heed the scrupulous warnings on these points that Mr. Spielmann has given. To assert, as experts have done, that the portrait may be genuine is a very different thing from calling it wholly spurious.

The origin of this attractive painting, like the others, is shrouded in mystery, a mystery that Mr. Spielmann has not given up hopes of dispelling. It

appeared in a London art shop (*c.* 1847) and was purchased by the Reverend Clement Usill Kingston, a painter and at that time also a master in Queen Elizabeth's Free Grammar School at Ashbourne, Derbyshire. With the usual ardor of an owner, Mr. Kingston immediately penned a long declaration of its genuineness to Abraham Wivell, ending with the assertion that "it was the best and certainly the most interesting portrait of the immortal bard in existence". On March 24, 1847, Wivell replied in a letter (a copy still accompanies the picture) containing among other favorable comments the following: "the circumstance of the cross spears and mask appearing in the center of the book cover is conclusive that Shakespeare sat at the talented artist for the portrait."

Presently the existence of the Ashbourne portrait became common knowledge through the issuing for Kingston and Wivell of an excellent mezzotint by G. F. Storm. This mezzotint was closely followed, August, 1848, by a wood engraving. A third engraving on steel reveals the figure cut off at the waist, and the table, skull, hands, and glove of the original missing. But the portrait itself sank out of sight.

The rediscovery of the original portrait was the final outcome of an indefatigable search on the part of M. Spielmann. "It was the longest and most tedious in which I have been engaged." From one of Mr. Kingston's descendants, whom he finally located, he received the information that the relative had never taken the portrait seriously as "it probably did not represent Shakespeare, that Shakespeare had not written the plays, and whether he had or not didn't matter as they weren't worth caring about." Finally, however, Mr. Spielmann discovered that Mr. Kingston had sold it for £80 to a Mr. Harvard of Attleborough, whence it passed to Mr. R. Levine of Norwich, and thence to Sotheby's for auction in 1928.

The surprising thing is that such an attractive, and perhaps genuine portrait as the Ashbourne should have remained unnoticed until the middle of the 19th century, and then disappeared again until Mr. Spielmann brought it to light. This mystery, however, is explained by the secrecy of successive owners who have jealously guarded it and never permitted it to appear at a public exhibition.

A final paragraph giving the opinion of an American connoisseur and expert, Professor Frank Jewett Mather of Princeton University, will be of interest. On learning that he had made a study of Shakespeare portraits and

had examined the Ashbourne when it was on exhibition before the sale, I sought him out and received his permission to report his opinion. Professor Mather believes that the Ashbourne portrait is unqestionably and genuinely of its period, and that it is Shaksepeare. This cannot be proved as a certainty; there is an "off-chance" of its being some other notable, but the resemblances lead Professor Mather to believe that the Stratford Bust, the Droeshout Engraving, the Ashbourne and the Janssen portraits are all of the same man,—Shakespeare, at different ages of his life. While due attention is, of course, to be paid to the sceptical arguments, Professor Mather sees nothing strange in the sudden appearance of the portrait in the middle of the nineteenth century. Such things are happening all the time in the art world. Moreover, the fact that there is no distinguishable mark on the seal ring would seem an argument in favor of authenticity. A carefully painted *W. S.* would tend to indicate fraud. Finally, Professor Mather concurs in the view earlier expressed that the Ashboune portrait is not only the most, but in fact the only aesthetically satisfying portrait of Shakespeare in existence.

We may conclude then with the conviction that, questions of authenticity aside, the Ashbourne portrait gives us William Shakespeare as he should have looked, even if he didn't. What more could any one want? Perhaps, as this world goes, it would be captious to ask for more.

SHAKESPEARE

Thy name in blazing stars is writ
upon the sky of endless fame,
The earth is monumented in thy praise,
The lonely heights of greatness glow
with glory's chilly flame,
No perfume breathes the laurel or thy bays.

Let plaudits this one hour give way;
Thy rank, dear friend, is anchored fast,
Thy wonder books thy greatness ever prove,
Our tenderness will long as awe and
homage surely last;
So with our flowery wreath we offer *love.*

AGUSTA RAYMOND KIDDER.

HAMLET AND THE FOOL AS SYMBOLS OF TRAGEDY AND COMEDY

Bronze Group, in Fairmont Park, Philadelphia, Pa.

By STIRLING CALDER.

Slips of the Tongue in Shakspere

By Samuel A. Tannenbaum

WITH a mind so acutely sensitive to psychological phenomena, normal as well as abnormal, Shakspere could not have helped grasping—even though only intuitively—the significance of those supposedly trivial mental mishaps which we designate "slips of the tongue." No human being is free from these little accidents. Once our attention is called to them, we notice them constantly both in ourselves as well as in those with whom we are conversing. Many modern novelists and dramatists, notably Meredith and Galsworthy, have introduced them effectively into their books and plays; but among the Elizabethan dramatists Shakspere is—with perhaps one exception, to be noted below—the only writer in whose work I have been able to discover them. The astonishing thing about Shakspere's examples of slips of the tongue is not that he was acquainted with the phenomenon and introduced it effectively, but that he understood the "psychological mechanism" behind such slips, *i. e.,* the why and the wherefore of their occurrence.

He knew—not from lectures or essays on psychology, but "by instinct"—that in a slip of the tongue one often divulges a secret, something that was not intended to be spoken; that a person intending to say one thing but thinking of something else (perhaps because he is not interested in what he is saying, or because his attention has been diverted to something else), will say what he does not intend to say; and that a speaker sometimes pretends to have made a slip of the tongue and to have said unintentionally what he should perhaps not have said. In other words, he seems to have known the remarkable phenomenon—a phenomenon of which many modern psychologists are still ignorant—that the human mind tends to give overt expression (by muscular or glandular activity) to whatever thought happens to get into the focus of attention when one is emotionally disturbed or when one's thoughts are not proceeding on one track. Shakspere's illustrations of these phenomena are as interesting as they are instructive.

1. In *As You Like It* (IV, iii), the wicked but repentant Oliver describes to the disguised shepherds, Rosalind and Celia, how Orlando, single-handed, had given battle to a hungry lioness that he might rescue from certain death his cruel and unnatural brother, whom Oliver does not name. Carried away by his emotions in the narration of the stirring encounter, in which he always

speaks of himself in the third person, Oliver exclaims: "in which hurtling [i. e., turmoil] from miserable slumber *I* awak'd," thus unintentionally divulging his identity. This is not merely a clever bit of dramatic technique, carrying the story forward and doing away with the necessity of a formal introduction, but good psychology. Oliver is under the sway of conflicting emotions —remorse, gratitude, anxiety—at the same time that he is intent on evading the humiliation of having to confess that he is the brother whom Celia (!) has just described as "the most unnatural That liv'd amongst men." The effort to say "he," when he is thinking "I," is momentarily lost sight of because of his own interest in and vivid recollection of what actually transpired. The "somatising tendency" of the mind innervates the muscles of speech and, before he knows it, he says "I awak'd" (instead of "he awak'd").

2. A little later in the same scene (*As You Like It,* IV, iii), Rosalind (masquerading as Ganymede), Celia's pretended brother, swoons at the sight of the napkin dyed in her lover's (Orlando's) blood; thereupon Celia, greatly alarmed, and for the moment forgetting the rôle Rosalind is playing, exclaims "Cousin!" (the form of address she has all her life applied to Rosalind); no sooner has she said this, than she realizes her mistake, that she has fallen out of her rôle, that the stranger may scent some mystery, and seeks to correct the error by exclaiming "Ganymede!"

Some editors, evidently forgetting that Rosalind is posing as Celia's *brother,* and ignorant of the psychology of slips of the tongue, say that Celia uses the word "cousin" in the sense of "niece, nephew, brother-in-law, and grandchild"—a meaning the word often has in Shakspere. They indicate this in their text by reading "Cousin Ganymede!" Johnson rightly suggested that the true reading is "Cousin!—Ganymede!"—a reading in which he was followed by Steevens, Malone, and Richard Grant White.

3. In *Richard II* (II, ii) there is as pretty an example of a slip of the tongue as may be found anywhere in literature. The Duke of York, "weak with age" and oppressed with "crosses, care, and grief," visits the queen to break to her the ill news of troubles at home and abroad. Ordering a "servant" to go to Plashy, "to my sister Glouster" for "a thousand pound . . . for these wars," he is told that the Duchess of Glouster died that day. This news overwhelms him. Intent on disposing of the helpless queen, his "cousin," he says: "Come, sister,—cousin, I would say; pray pardon me." Steevens's note on this slip is worth quoting. He says: "This is one of Shakespeare's touches

of nature. York is talking to the queen, his cousin, but the recent death of his sister is uppermost in his mind."

4. That Shakspere did not scorn to "borrow" even a slip of the tongue—and that he improved what he borrowed—is aptly illustrated by a striking passage in *Richard III* (IV, i). Brakenbury appears before the gates of the Tower (in which the young Prince of Wales and his brother York are imprisoned by the machination of their uncle Gloster) to tell Queen Elizabeth and the Duchess of York that they can not be admitted to the Princes. He does this in the following words:

> "I may not suffer you to visit them,—
> The king hath strictly charged the contrary."

Puzzled, the Queen asks: "The king! Who's that?" Covering up his embarrassment as well as he may, Bakenbury says: "I mean the lord protector."

By way of comment on this fine example of Shakspere's insight into the workings of the human mind, I shall quote Dr. Furness's note on the passage (on pp. 278-279 of his edition of *The Life and Death of Richard the Third*):

"Skottowe [*Life of Shakespeare,* vol. 1, p. 206] calls attention to the similarity between this passage and the following from *The True Tragedie of Richard III*:—*King.* What was he that walked with thee in the gardeine, me thought he had the keyes?/ *Forest.* My Lord, it was one that was appointed by the King to be an ayde to sir Thomas Brokenbury./*King.* Did the King, why Myles Forest, am not I King?/*Forest.* I would haue said my Lord your vnckle the Protector./*King.* Nay my kingly vnckle he is now, but let him enjoye both Crowne and kinghome, so my brother and I may enjoy our liues and libertie.'/—Churchill (*Richard III. up to Shakespeare,* p. 509) remarks: 'This is a coincidence which cannot be explained away as "purely accidental"; nor is there any direct chronicle foundation for it. Hall (*Chronicles of England,* 1809, p. 378) has, from More: "The Prince assone as the Protectoure toke vpon him to be kynge, and left the name of protectoure, was thereof advertised and shewed that he shoulde not reigne, but his vnckle should haue the crowne. At which word the prince sore abashed beganne to sighe and sayd: Alas I would myne vncle would let me haue my life although I lese my kyngedome." In *The True Tragedie,* &c., the Prince learns of his uncle's intentions only by a slip on the part of Forest—an artistic as well as artful improvement upon the chronicle. But it is still in connection with the chron-

icle passage. Shakespeare, however, makes use of the stroke before Richard has become king, and the blow falls as a warning upon the Queen; it does not fall upon the Prince. The author of *The True Tragedie,* &c., was therefore clearly the inventor, and Shakespeare adopted the clever invention.' "

If Shakspere had, as some think he did, a hand in writing the mangled *True Tragedie,* he may have been borrowing only from himself.*

5. In *Henry VIII* (IV, i) there is a phenomenon which may perhaps be described as a kind of slip of the tongue. It is of interest because the author of the scene, generally—and probably wrongly—thought to be Fletcher, goes to the trouble of explaining the occurrence. The Third Gentleman, who has been describing the coronation of Anne Bullen, says:

> "So she parted [*i.e.,* departed],
> And with the same full state pac'd back again
> To York-place, where the feast is held."

The First Gentleman takes it upon him to correct the speaker:

> "Sir,
> You must no more call it York-place; that's past;
> For, since the card'nal fell, that title's lost.
> 'Tis now the king's and call'd Whitehall."
> *Third Gent.* "I know it;
> But 't is so lately alter'd that th' old name
> Is fresh about me."

The reason for the introduction of this seemingly trivial "mistake"—for which there is, of course, no basis in history—is, in all probability, the poet's desire to recall the fallen Wolsey to the minds of the audience immediately after they have been told of the tremendous "joy" with which "the people" witnessed the coronation of the new queen—the weight that pulled Wolsey down. Wolsey, it may be noted, is not mentioned elsewhere in the scene.

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*Incidentally I may remark here that I have not the slightest confidence in the view recently advanced that the early Quartos of *The Contention* and of *The True Tragedie* were not "sources" for, but corruptions of, Shakspere's *Henry VI* (Parts 2 and 3). The case for this hypothesis is no whit more tenable or logical, *me judice,* than any of the other fruits of the "bibliographic" method championed by the Pollard-Wilson-Greg school of Shakspere criticism. For a convincing disproof of Mr. Pollard's "Good and Bad Quartos" theory, the student is referred to Miss Eleanor G. Clark's pamphlet, *The Pembroke Plays* (Bryn Mawr, 1928); for a disproof of Dr. Greg's "traitor-actor" theory (regarding *The Merry Wives*), to Miss Evelyn M. Albright's book, *Dramatic Publication in England;* for the confutation of Professor Simpson's theory of "dramatic punctuation," to the late Raymond M. Alden's biting criticism in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association;* for a demonstration of the unsoundness of Dr. Greg's views regarding *Orlando Furioso,* to Dr. Van Dam's essay in a recent issue of *English Studies;* for disproof of the fantastic notion that three pages of the manuscript of *Sir Thomas Moore* are in the handwriting of William Shakspere, to my book *Shakspere and Sir Thomas Moore.* In a forthcoming essay (*"How not to edit Shakspere"*) I shall show what an atrocious text (*The "New" Cambridge Shakespeare*) the bibliographical school has produced.

6. In *Othello* (IV, i), the hero, frenzied with jealousy, seeks to control his passion and to show a calm exterior while reading the letter from the Venetian senate ordering his recall and deputing Cassio in his place; but so overwhelmed is he with anger on hearing Desdemona speak of her "love for Cassio" that he cannot contain himself and bursts out (IV, 1, 229) with the words, "Fire and brimstone!" before he is aware of it, thus betaying to us the volcanic passion that is raging within him. This is, of course, also true of his exclamation (IV, 1, 222), "Are you sure of that?" when his unsuspecting wife says to her kinsman that he "shall make all well" between her husband and Cassio. These slips of his prepare us for the utter loss of self-control that manifests itself when he strikes Desdemona a few minutes later.

7. A very artistic slip of the tongue occurs in *Twelfth Night* (II, v.). Malvolio, the priggish and conceited steward, sitting in the orchard, is indulging in a typical day-dream of future greatness. In his mind's eye he sees himself married to the Lady Olivia; he revels in the fantasy of lording it over those who have incurred his displeasure. He imagines himself ordering Sir Toby, his pet aversion, to be brought before him. "Seven of my people," says he, "with an obedient start make out for him; I frown the while, and perchance wind up my watch, or play with my—some rich jewel." The dash after "my" does not occur in the Folio; some modern editors omit it, interpreting "my some rich jewel" to mean "some rich jewel of mine." Mr. Daniel, realizing that "my some rich jewel" is not English, suggested changing the words "my some" to "my handsome," and Dyce proposed omitting the word "my" as an accidental repetition resulting from the preceding "my watch." Collier introduced the dash, and explained the passage thus: "Malvolio, after mentioning his watch, wants to mention some other jewelled ornament, but is unable to think of one at the moment and therefore merely says 'some rich jewel'." Nicholson, retaining Collier's dash, explains the passage in a manner which, as Furness says, "carries instant and complete conviction." He says: "There is here a true touch of nature and a most humorous one. While Sir Toby is being fetched to the presence, the Lord Malvolio would frowningly wind up his watch or play with—and here from force of habit he fingers [the chain about his neck, his badge of office], and is about to add 'play with my chain', but suddenly remembering that [if he married Olivia] he would be no longer a steward, or other gold-chained attendant, he stops short, and then confusedly [covers up his slip of the tongue and] alters his phrase to—'some rich jewel.'" The watch may, by an obvious association, have suggested the chain.

8. A striking and significant slip of the tongue, such as only Shakspere could have invented, occurs in *Macbeth* (I, v). Lady Macbeth, her mind seething with the murderous thoughts aroused in her by her husband's subtly suggestive letter, is impatiently and tigress-like pacing her room; suddenly a servant enters and announces the coming of the King. In her then state of mind it would have been madness for the gracious Duncan knowingly to put himself in her power. The shock of surprise momentarily overwhelms her self-control and she bursts out, involuntarily: "Thou'rt mad to say it!" Then, fearing that she has betrayed to the servant what is beating in her brain, she adds: "Is not thy master with him? who, wer't so, would have informed for preparation."

9. In *The Tempest* (III, i) the charming, innocent, love-infected Miranda in an unguarded moment betrays her name—which she was forbidden to reveal—to her equally infected lover by as pretty a *lapsus linguae* as may be found anywhere in literature. That Shakspere introduced the slip merely for its artsitic effect is fairly certain from the fact that there seems to be no reason why Prospero should have forbidden Miranda to reveal her name to her adorer.

10. A much discussed and little understood passage in *The Merchant of Venice* (III, ii) centres around what has been regarded as a very ingenious and significant slip of the tongue by Portia. Bassanio, impatient and impetuous adventurer—and needy, too—is bent on knowing his fate without unnecessary delay. He is anxious to get through with the business of choosing the casket, to try his luck in guessing which one of the caskets contains Portia's counterfeit presentment. To Portia the result means—poetically speaking—either misery or eternal happiness; to him, the gain or loss of a fortune—and a wife. Under these circumstances she addresses the impatient Bassanio as follows:

> "Forbear a while!—
> There's something tells me—and it is not love—
> I would not lose you; and you know yourself [*i. e.*, you know]
> But—lest you should not understand me well—
> I would detain you here some month or two
> Before you venture for me. I could teach you
> How to choose right, but then I am [*i. e.*, would be] forsworn;
> So [*i. e.*, forsworn] will I never be; so may you miss me;
> But if you do, you'll make me wish a sin—
> That I had been forsworn.—Beshrew your eyes,
> They have o'erlook'd [*i. e.*, bewitched] me and divided me;

> One half of me is yours,—th' other half yours,
> Mine own, I would [*i. e.,* should] say; but if mine, then yours,
> And so all yours."

Whether there is or is not here (in the words "th' other half yours" in the second line before the last) a slip of the tongue depends on how we interpret the word "would" in Portia's "I would say." If we regard the words as meaning "I intended to say," then we might have to think of the word "yours" as a slip of the tongue. Portia has confessed to her lover that he had bewitched and divided her. There was division in her heart; on the one hand, she wished to be true to her father's hest and thus to test what stuff her lover was made of; on the other hand, she wished to direct her lover to the right casket. The thought of being divided prompts her to say "one half of me is yours; the other half mine own." But instead of this she says "the other half yours." Then she explains, with commendable modesty and frankness, that even the half which she thought of reserving to herself is his, that she is wholly his. All that she says to him is so evidently indicative of her complete surrender to her lover that there can be no thought of any attempt at concealment and, therefore, of a slip of the tongue. If "I would say" means "I should (or ought to) have said,"[1] there surely can be no slip of the tongue in Portia's "the other half (also) yours."

11. A genuine slip of the tongue does, however, occur in *The Merchant* (II, v), although none of the commentators seems to have noticed it. Launcelot Gobbo, the typically prejudiced Christian, is so elated by the thought of the happenings of the day (his exit from the Jew's employment, his new job with Bassanio, his fine new livery, the banquet, the masque, the planned elopement), that in a burst of confidence—forgetting for the instant to whom he is speaking—he is about to say "And they have conspired together to assist Jessica to elope with Lorenzo." But he catches himself in time, perhaps when he sees the expression of the eyes in Shylock's face on hearing the words "conspired together"; to cover up what he has just said, and to divert attention from it, he says: "I will not say you shall see a mask; but if you do, then it was not for nothing that my nose fell a bleeding on Black Monday last at six o'clock i' th' morning, falling out that year on Ash Wednesday was four year in the afternoon." Shylock's "What! are there masks?" shows that Launcelot's trick has succeeded; Shylock has not noted the reference to a conspiracy.

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[1] In Elizabethan English "would" was often the equivalent of our "should".

12. It is not always possible to be certain whether we are dealing with a slip of the tongue or not. In some cases the decision depends on the interpretation of the passage as well as of the character of the speaker and the situation. Thus, for example, in *Henry VIII* (in V, i—a scene generally assigned to Fletcher)[2] the King is anxiously and expectantly awaiting news of the Queen's (Anne's) accouchement. A garrulous and rather bold old Lady enters to him with news of the baby's (Elizabeth's) birth. The ensuing colloquy is printed thus in the First Folio:

> *King.* Now by thy lookes
> I gesse thy Message. Is the Queene deliuer'd?
> Say I [*i. e.*, Ay], and of a boy.
>
> *Lady.* I, I my Liege,
> And of a louely Boy: the God of heauen
> Both now, and euer blesse her: 'Tis a Gyrle
> Promises Boyes heereafter.

Most readers, reading this for the first time or without giving the passage particular thought, think that the Lady is teasing ("kidding"— in American slang) the king when she says the baby is a "lovely boy"; and that she then tries to make amends for her presumptuousness, and to mitigate the father's disappointment, by saying " 'Tis a girl [who] promises [to give birth to] boys hereafter.

The objections to this interpretation—the generally accepted one—are these: no one would dare to trifle with the King in a matter of such consequence (everybody in England knew how anxious Henry was for a male heir); Henry could not be thought to be much concerned about whether the new-born babe would in time beget boys. It is much more likely, therefore, that the loquacious Lady made a slip of the tongue[3] when she said "boy." The word "her" in the words "God . . . bless her" suddenly brings her to the realization

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[2] I cannot help remarking here that the generally accepted theory of Fletcher's collaboration with Shakspere in the writing of this play seems not to square with the facts. It seems to me more likely that after Shakspere had begun this play and had written several scenes in full and others only sketchily, he was taken ill and had to retire into the bosom of his family in Stratford; that some time thereafter Fletcher took the play and completed it, possibly without even consulting Shakspere. Act V, Scene 1, seems to me wholly Shakspere's; the opening is very much like *Macbeth,* II, i. The Henry of the second half of the play is a different man from the Henry of the first half. That a play so disorganized, so lacking in unity, as *Henry VIII,* could be the result of the collaborative efforts of two such master craftsmen as Fletcher and Shakspere, seems to me impossible.

[3] Many persons, when speaking excitedly, say a word meaning the opposite of what they intend, *e. g.*, "right" for "left", "hot" for "cold", etc. The King's emphatic use of the word "boy" undoubtedly contributed to the Lady's slip.

that she had said the infant was a "boy." Almost frightened, she exclaims "'Tis a girl!" Then, collecting herself, she adds—pleasantly and encouragingly—"Promises boys hereafter." These last three words refer to the Queen; to make this clear the Lady's speech should be printed as follows:

> Ay, ay, my liege,
> And of a lovely boy!—the God of heaven
> Both now and ever bless her!—'Tis a girl!—
> Promises boys hereafter.

At the same time it must be noted that "Promises" may be an error for "'T promises," *i. e.,* "there is promise of."

That there are other instances of slips of the tongue in the Shakspere canon is not improbable, but at the moment I can think of none.

SHAKESPEARE'S APRIL

New-born moods of all the year
  Race the veins in April,
Quicken worn things, flush the sear;
  Earth is trig in April!

Happy, tickling touches sting
  Protean hearts in April!
Nothing pokes but it will spring
  Mutable in April!

Brown old Earth is weaving now
  Motley Coats for April;
Humor stirs her, mindful now
  Shakespeare's birth chose April!

"Out of doors and airless air,
    Come," she cries,—"See April!
Clap the play, and laud the Player—
  April! Shakespeare's April!"

CHARLOTTE ENDYMION PORTER

Editorial Notes

WITH this issue the Bulletin makes definite advances which are more important than may appear at first glance. As indicated on the inside title-page (now inserted for the first time) we announce the Advisory Editorial Board, the members of which have responded to the invitation to lend their assistance in promoting the aims of the periodical. We have no need to introduce the Board to members of the Association. Their services to the cause of the appreciation of Shakespeare require no comment. In various ways they have contributed to the progress of the Association and the Bulletin. For their willingness to give their support in this public manner the Association is grateful indeed.

Nor do the contributing editors, now designated by title for the first time, need introduction. Their departments have become invaluable features of the Bulletin.

* * *

AS the Stratford Players Festival Company leave America this month to open the annual Birthday Festival on the 21st, they end the second tour of this country and Canada with a sense of special satisfaction. The strenuous transcontinental program which they accomplished has been nothing less than a triumph. In a number of large centers many people have been turned away from the doors of the theatres where they have played. They have made a host of new friends who are anxious for their return. America needs them, and we hope to welcome them again in the near future.

* * *

The comprehensive picture of recent Shakespeare scholarship presented by Professor Hardin Craig in the current issue will at once be recognized as one of the most important contributions ever published in the Bulletin. So far as we know, this is the only systematic survey of the progress of Shakespearean investigation during the past few years published anywhere in the world.

It is a pleasure to announce the appointment of Professor Craig as a vice-president of the Association.

* * *

Features of the July issue will be articles on Shakespeare in Italy by Professor Guido Ferrando of the British Institute of Florence and on the Language of Shakespeare's Clowns by Professor Morris P. Tilley of the University of Michigan.

* * *

Although we have received no plea from the Teasurer of the Association, we venture to remind all members that dues have now become payable. Especially do we urge that all good Shakespeareans show their desire to

further the work of the Association by taking out Maintaining or Sustaining memberships.

The Treasurer is Mr. Charles K. Carpenter, 1435 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

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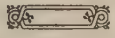
Members are reminded that if they would be sure of receiving their copies of the Bulletin, they should notify the Secretary promptly of any temporary or permanent change of address. Attention to this matter is particularly necessary to insure receipt of the July issue, which will be mailed in June.

* * *

The ANNUAL MEETING of the Association will include a dinner and evening program at the National Arts Club, 15 Gramercy Park, New York, on Sunday, May 4. Full announcement will be sent to each member of the Association. A large attendance is anticipated.



The Shakespearean Civic Theatre in Chicago

ALTHOUGH New York is, by its own confession, the theatrical capital of the United States, the only resident Shakespeare repertory company in the country is located in Chicago. The citizens of Chicago, or at any rate enough citizens to pay operating expenses, have been putting down their money at the box office to see "Hamlet," "Macbeth," "Julius Caesar," "The Merchant of Venice," "Othello" and "The Taming of the Shrew," and before the current repertory is concluded they may see "Twelfth Night," "Richard III," "As You Like It" and "King Lear." Nor is it an impulsive, temporary gesture. By the terms of the present subsidy, Shakespeare will be played in Chicago for at least four years more, and then for as long as the public requires it. New York is, by its own confession, the theatrical capital of the country —"of the world," some of the chest-thumpers say. But Chicago is the only city in the country which has attempted to introduce the great Bard of Avon as an integral part of its cultural life.

Especially in view of the workmanlike performances Fritz Leiber is putting on the stage of the new Civic Theatre, the significance of a civic Shakespeare festival every year is worth considering. No one can help observing that for two decades Shakespeare has been slipping out of the active theatre and that the art of acting Shakespeare has been all but lost in the scrabble of the modern theatre. Occasionally he is revived for the insolent purpose of star-acting or scene-designing. But for the most part the greatest dramatic poet in any modern language has been surrendered to the solitary quiet of the library, where his vitality has been more admired than on the stage. Yet the works of Shakespeare are plays—carelessly constructed according to modern standards, sometimes inconsistent in story and characterization, occasional mere bombast in the lines, but for all that wrestling

with thoughts beyond the reaches of the soul, lustrous with lyric beauty, bursting with passion. Well, this is no time for discovering Shakespeare; the schools and the commentators have reduced him into a sacred cow. But you cannot sit through good productions of four of his plays, as this courier did two weeks ago in Chicago, without coming into a new consciousness about the theatre and treading for a few heady moments the celestial mountaintops. If, by the organization and trade methods of the current theatre and the incompetence of acting, we are losing our hold on these leaves of immortality, we are losing what is most essential to the drama and condemning our finest impulses to death and sterility. Without Shakespeare in intelligent performances the theatre is not worth preserving.

We need not to be blind to the exterior faults of Fritz Leiber and his company to realize that he has set his hand to something of great pith and moment, and that the prospects are bright for admirably thorough productions of Shakespeare before the five-year period is at an end. Mr. Leiber has been acting Shakespeare for a quarter of a century without resorting to the buskin; he has in his company several actors who know their way about the favorite plays. But many of his actors are appearing in most of these plays for the first time, and the difficulties of assembling and training a company in ten plays are patently enormous. The schedule divides the plays into two groups of five. Each one is played for a week; then for a concluding week of general repertory the first four plays are each acted twice. When you consider the difficulties of rehearsing a fresh company in one play for ordinary dramatic producing, you will appreciate the strain under which the company is now laboring for a three months' engagement in ten plays. If it has taken Miss Le Gallienne four years to perfect her company at the Civic Repertory, Mr. Leiber and his friends must expect to devote that much time to training a full company in the acting of imaginative, dramatic poetry.

What you miss at present are the refinements of that art—the frenzy and rapture of great poetry, the "underhum of song," the turbulent melancholy of Shakespeare's pensive passion. Mr. Leiber's Hamlet lacks the royal pride and the noble mind instinct in that rôle. The Julius Caesar of Hart Jenks is solemnized and regalized to the point of caricature. The Lady Macbeth of Helen Freeman wants the full, overwhelming stature of that part. You miss in Nerissa and the wife of Brutus the idealized tenderness with which Shakepeare portrayed them. The mob is as abrubt and strident as a siren. The bloody stabbing, in which Shakespeare indulged freely, misses the mortal heart and slides languorously under the immortal arm. The witches shriek in an artfully feline measure that hell would not tolerate. For the most part the speaking is intelligible, which is the very least an actor can do for his audience; sometimes it is measured and beautifully inflected. But the apprentices speak their lines with that frightened breathlessness at which lovers of Shakespeare muffle their ears in terror; and when the casting problem of such a play as "Julius Caesar" promotes the apprentices to important rôles, the effect is rather distracting. In justice to those who are interested, such peevish observations as these must be made.

But they are besides the main points that, by and large, the performances are vigorous, balanced, dramatic, and ruggedly humorous when the opportunity comes, and that they are designed not to quiet the carping of dilettantes, but to interest audiences in Shakespeare. What has ruined Shakespeare for the present generation is the intolerable

lack of interest in everything except the major rôles. In retiring from the Leiber company, Tyrone Power, who is the ripest Shakespearean in the country, complained that the leading rôles, several of which he played, were not permitted the prerogatives of their kind. What may have seemed to him a defect is for most of us the virtue of Mr. Leiber's direction. His journeyman method of regarding the plays as dramatic integrities is the sole justification of a permanent repertory organization. Although the cuts in the texts ruthlessly lop off isolated passages of poetry, they are made in the interests of drama; and the pace of the performances is refreshingly lively, quick at the attack when the curtain goes up and willing to conclude when the drama of an episode is finished. Mr. Leiber is too genuine a trouper to strum Shakespeare on the single string of a fat part.

If his "Hamlet" is not enkindled at the godhead flame, it is nevertheless the best general performance of the play this theatregoer has ever seen—notably clarified by the blunt intelligence of the staging, full-blooded and forthright as drama. In prospect you might have misgivings about the Ophelia of Marie Carroll, whose career has not blossomed amid the rosemary of dramatic poetry. But the innocent perplexity she draws out of the part admirably accents the tragedy of that star-racked rôle. Likewise, Lawrence H. Cecil's alert and gusty Laertes bolsters up one aspect of the tragedy seldom seen. In Robert Strauss, who is the grave-digger, Mr. Leiber has the best Shakespearean clown of the day, who never truckles and whose humor springs naturally from the lines and situations. Incidentally, what he makes of the endless puns as the cobbler in "Julius Caesar" is a revelation in the latent humors of the Shakespeare fool.

To many idle speculators on the personality of Shakespeare, "Hamlet" is the plainest confession of his mind. Before he had finished with the story he had lost himself in the endless cosmic brooding of the leading rôle; he set down the irresolute meditations of a poet and philosopher as much in his own interests as Hamlet's. There is something of Hamlet in every one who stops for a moment to think. The more Coleridge studied the part, the more of himself he saw in its muddy-mettled introspection. So rapturously did Hazlitt worship it that he could not endure seeing it played. This might be amusing commentary on the Hamlets of Kemble and Kean if Hazlitt had not read Shakespeare to such little purpose that he felt much the same about all the plays. Mr. Leiber regards "Hamlet" as something to be seen and heard. Unpretentious, uninspired in the lyrical sense, it is yet the proper approach, and for those who love Shakespeare it is as if this conflict between man and fate had never been discovered before. Great thoughts have that quality of renewing themselves whenever they are spoken. If the scheme of repertory had not limited "Hamlet" to a week, it might have played to good houses for many weeks in Chicago.

The Chicago Civic Shakespeare Society, which has engaged — in fact, hired — Mr. Leiber to stage the plays, is sponsored by an imposing list of local dignitaries, but it is no particular secret that Harley L. Clarke, whose name appears obscurely half way down the list, has set the enterprise in motion and supplied the funds for the tentative five-year period. He is, among other things, president of the Utilities Power and Light Company, and Shakespeare is his most conspicuous extra-mural weakness. He believes so much in the pre-eminence of Shakespeare as a dramatist that he hopes other cities may

snatch a leaf from Chicago's book and establish repertory companies of their own.

Although the Civic Shakespeare Society has no connection with the Chicago Opera Company, it inhabits the little Civic Theatre, which has been thrust under one wing of the gigantic new opera house and lives a peaceful little existence within earshot of the thundrous roulades of the bassos and contraltos. It seats about 900 playgoers, and it is decorated in the luxurious "hand-hammered" copper style that makes this new shrine of the Chicago arts as secure and solid as bullion. When the Shakespeare festival is over, and the company either goes on tour or disbands for the season, the Civic Theatre may be used for operetta, concerts, dramatic productions or any ventures consistent with the policies of the opera house directors. According to the conditions of the contract, however, the Civic Shakespeare Society has full rights to the use of the Civic Theatre during the height of the season for five years.

Fortunate as the Shakespeare Society may be in its inheritance of so ornate and splendidly equipped a playhouse, it is an inheritance not without disadvantages. There is a suggestion of patronage in the miniature life of a repertory company under the monstrous wing of the opera. The cab drivers, who always believe the best of their patrons, insist on dropping you at the opera door. Occasionally, when a stage door is opened for a moment, the sonorous thumping of the opera steals across the lonely meditations of the introspective Dane. And to tell the truth, except for Mr. Leiber's zeal and eagerness, there is more than a touch of sound business practicability about the project.

Ultimately the security of any acting organization rests upon the storminess of its leadership and the audacity of its ambition. Not until you realize how completely Shakespeare has fallen out of the modern theatre in America do you understand what it means to have ten of his plays put on in one season. Repertory companies are the only remedy for this flabby degeneration — repertory companies composed of actors foresworn to Shakespeare and animated by a desire to measure their art against the greatest standard. It is only by the development of permanent repertory companies that the fatal ineptitudes of most Shakespearean producing can be overcome. As much as opera troupes, they need to be in residence under the leadership of a permanent director and trained in speaking and walking, in the dramatic significance of lines and episodes and the qualities of elusive characterizations. No company can play Shakespeare constantly, as no orchestra can play the masters time after time, without coming into its finest heritage. It is the meat on which the Caesars fed. To speak moderately, it is the capital of the American theatre. But Chicago has the only resident Shakespearean repertory company in America; there is only one other in the world.

J. Brooks Atkinson,
in *The New York Times.*

THE CLUB FORUM

CONDUCTED BY

MRS. ROBERT CARLTON MORRIS

AN inspiring and heartening message comes from the Shakespeare Club of Dallas, Texas, the latest organization to become affiliated with our national association. I will quote from the letter of their president, Mrs. Henry Excell. "Our club was organized in 1886, with a membership of fifty. In the beginning we read one play after another in quick succession. As the years passed we read slowly and critically. We now read each season one of Shakespear's plays and also modern drama, poetry and art. Our club is said to have exerted a decided influence on the cultural life of Dallas. Many years ago we took the initiative in organizing our Public Library, and the club presented a pair of handsome bronze lamps (the first to be brought to Texas) for the front of the building. We helped to foster and to promote the Dallas Art Association, the Dallas Symphony Orchestra and a Little Theatre. For three successive seasons our Little Theatre enjoyed the distinction of having won the Belasco Cup in New York, the first time with a play written by the son of one of our members. We have brought noted lecturers and readers to Dallas, and the club itself has now and then presented short plays, notably Clemence Dane's "Will Shakespeare." A very impressive pageant was given in one of our parks by the club, assisted by the private schools of Dallas, the production marking the Tercentenary. Perhaps our greatest contributions to the city have been the organizing of the Dallas Woman's Club, providing the city with a Woman's Club building. This organization now numbers eight hundred members, it owns a beautiful building which serves as a centre for the social, cultural and literary activities of the women of Dallas. We are known as the founders of this club and we take great pride in the fact that the Shakespeare Club gave to the Woman's Club the furniture of its handsome library. Our educational fund is growing and is used for scholarships and in aiding young people who are seeking an education." Mrs. Excell closes her very interesting letter with the words, "As I have had the honor of being president of the club since its organization you can realize how conjunctive to my very life and soul it has become, and with it the love and worship of Shakespeare."

* * *

It is our pleasure to introduce another Club recently affiliated,—the Stratford Shakespeare Club of Wauseon, Ohio. Its president is Mrs. T. L. Aumend. This club was organized in 1908, by the editor of the Club Forum and Mrs. W. H. Eager, and has a splendid record of more than twenty years of devotion to the study of the great plays. They have presented to the public library of Wauseon a complete set of the Furness Variorum and many other valuable works of reference. Although Wauseon is a small town in the Middle-West its local library compares favorably with that of large cities. Annually the club contributes to the fund for the purchase of new books; they have also supported their hospital and a scholarship fund. The members of this club are enthusiastic patrons of stage productions of the Shakespeare plays and have been known to travel many miles in order to witness a performance.

The Toledo Shakespeare Club recently offered three substantial money prizes for the best essay written by any persons between the ages of nine and eighteen on the subject "A Shakespeare Garden for Toledo." The replies were of such uniformly high quality that the judges found difficulty in selecting the winners.

* * *

The year-book of the Germantown, Penna., Shakespeare Club has just reached me. This club was organized in 1910. The subject for study during the current season is "Shakespearean Reactions through the Centuries", and among the topics scheduled for discussion are Stage Craft of the Seventeenth Century, Development of Criticism in the Eighteenth Century, Appreciation of Shakespeare's genius in the Nineteenth Century. Miss Florence E. Taylor is president of this Club, and I hope we may shortly print its history in full.

* * *

A little book of recent publication which I recommend is "Why Janet Should Read Shakespeare," by Norman Hapgood (The Century Co.).

* * *

And now, how shall we celebrate the three hundred and sixty-sixth anniversary of the birth of Shakespeare, on Wednesday, April 23, 1930? In the older countries it is the custom to celebrate the anniversary of a great man's death; in the U. S. we are apt to observe the anniversary of his birth. Shakespeare graciously harmonized both customs by dying on his birthday. The Club which takes the initiative should plan a community celebration,—public and private schools, libraries, book shops, dramatic organizations, art clubs, musical societies should all have a part.

Shakespeare's songs, solos and choruses, as well as selections from the plays which have inspired operatic settings, may be obtained from any music house. There are excellent Victrola records available.

Offer prizes throughout the schools for poems or essays on some subject related to Shakespeare. Also offer prizes for best posters of well-known scenes from the plays. Plant a memorial tree on an appropriate site and outline a suitable dedication ceremony of songs, poem, addresses.

Produce a pageant of characters, assigning to certain schools or clubs the representation of the historical plays, the Roman plays, the comedies and the tragedies. Consult with manager of your public library. Is the Shakespeare shelf lacking in books of reference, or newest publications? If so, make a gift to your library on Shakespeare's birthday of books, perhaps a bust of the poet.

I shall be glad to mail, on request, a poem (no, I didn't write it!) that may be recited, and also titles of other poems for the occasion.

Produce a play, or scenes from several of the plays. Seek the cooperation of local dramatic clubs.

In whatever way you decide to observe the day, remember that Shakespeare is for all of us—to remember, to enjoy, to applaud.

* * *

The Shakespeare Club of Port Allegheny, Penna., will observe the Shakespeare birthday with interpretations of scenes from The Merchant of Venice. Mrs. Cora Fuller, president of club, will write the history of her organization for a later issue of the Bulletin.

* * *

The Shakespeare Club of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, studies five plays during the season. Meeting twice a month, a lecturer discusses the play at the first meeting, and a member of the club conducts the second

meeting. Once a year the club observes a guest-day and produces a play for the entertainment of their friends. A wardrobe committee designs costumes, and a music committee furnishes appropriate incidental music. This club hopes to establish in the near future a Shakespeare Center, and to furnish their building with furniture characteristic of the Elizabethan period. They have already laid aside a substantial sum for this purpose.

* * *

Mrs. Lucy Holtzclaw McDonald of Chattanooga, Tennessee, writes most interestingly of the activities of the Shakespeare Club connected with the Senior High School of that city. This club will observe the Shakespeare birthday with a production of "Love's Labours Lost." Under Mrs. McDonald's supervision, Shakespearean plays have been staged by High School students in this Southern city for a quarter of a century, beginning with a production of "The Taming of the Shrew" in 1908. The enterprise is truly a democratic undertaking, each student contributing twenty-five cents toward the expenses of the performance and in return receiving as many admission tickets as they wish to distribute among their friends. This school club has offered three prizes this year to members of the school,—for the best Shakespearean poster, best model for a Shakespeare Garden, and best original one-act play. The club has, during its history, produced Comedy of Errors, King Henry the Fifth, The Merchant of Venice, Twelfth Night, Midsummer Nights' Dream, Love's Labours Lost, and As You Like It. Several of these have been staged a half a dozen times.

* * *

The annual Twelfth Night celebration of the Shakespeare Club of New York City was held on Monday evening, January 6th, 1930, at the Washington Irving House, at 49 Irving Place, New York City. There were present 28 members and guests.

After an excellent dinner, the club adjourned to the parlors upstairs, where the President, Mr. Willing, opened a program of short talks in which the members succeeded delightfully in combining an evening of Shakespeare and Washington Irving. As the first speaker of the evening, Mrs. Bergen, in the character of Mrs. William Irving, welcomed the members to the house in a few gracious words, and then introduced a Miss Mary Bokum, whose mother had lived, as a child, with the Irving family. Miss Bokum told many amusing and interesting stories of the Irvings, and if it was not fully proved that Washington Irving had lived in the house—there having been some doubt on the subject—it was at least pretty well established that he had frequently visited and done some of his writing there. Following this, Mrs. Warner read a newspaper clipping, written by one who recalled many of the interesting memories of the old neighborhood.

Miss Martin then gave us a very charming and vivid resumé of Washington Irving's account of his visit to Stratford-on-Avon. Introducing the next speaker, Mr. Willing said that whereas Washington Irving has given us a tradition in literature, Edwin Booth has left us, no less, a tradition of the theater, and he called upon Mr. Ross, who had played with Booth as a member of his company. Mr. Ross recounted many interesting personal memories of Booth, testifying to his high qualities as a man and to his power as an actor.

Following the speeches, refreshments appropriate to the occasion were served, thus concluding a most enjoyable evening.

The Stratford Chronicle

Sir Archibald Flower

GRATIFICATION was felt throughout Stratford-upon-Avon, and wherever the work of the Shakespeare Memorial is known, when his Majesty's intention to confer the dignity of Knighthood upon Alderman Archibald Dennis Flower was announced on New Year's Day. The honour was not wholly unexpected by the public, for it was felt that Mr. Flower's devotion to the cause of Shakespeare would receive, upon an appropriate occasion, the recognition it merited.

It is interesting to recall that the Prime Minister, whose duty it is to finally approve the recommendations which are placed before the King, was one of the four signatories to the appeal issued in 1926 after the Theatre fire. In his special message to the Shakespeare Pictorial published last April, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald wrote: "Stratford will remain one of the sacred spots of England so long as any genuine English sentiment remains in the world."

Sir Archie Flower was born in Stratford-on-Avon on 31st October, 1865, and is proud of the fact that his family has been connected with the town for over a century. He was educated at Clifton, and on his House Master being appointed Head Master of Bedford Modern, he followed him to that school. He was in the Bedford Cricket XI. and Rugby XV. as well as the boat which rowed at Henley Regatta.

After eighteen months in Germany he went up to Clare College, Cambridge, in 1883, where he took his degree. He was Captain of the boats and in the Rugby XV., and got his blue for rowing against Oxford in 1886. Though there is no record of many form prizes, the young Stratfordian brought back to The Hill a host of athletic trophies.

When he came down he captained the local Rugby team for a period and got his cap for the Midland Counties. His business life has been spent with the local brewery company bearing the family name.

Sir Archie has hunted with the Warwickshire Hounds since he was eight—and still follows his favourite recreation when time permits. Fortunate in having travelled all over the world, he has been twice to India and Ceylon and nine times to America.

Sir Archie joined the Borough Council as a representative of the New Town Ward in 1896, and was elected an Alderman in 1912. He is the Father of the present Council and serves on the Land and Buildings, Finance, Records, Town Planning and Plans, Church Preservation and Free Library Committees. For six years he was Mayor of the Borough—first in 1900-1 and 1901-2, and then during the four war years 1915-1919.

No other Mayor has held office for so long a period, the nearest approach to this record being Sir Arthur Hodgson's consecutive term of five years.

On the death of his uncle, Charles Flower, in 1892, he was elected on the Warwickshire County Council and is an Alderman of that body. He is Chairman of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trustees, Chairman of the Grammar School Governors, a member of Stratford Rotary, a Freemason and, of course, Chairman of the Shakespeare Memorial Governors. He is a Vice-President dispersedly and during his life has been connected with most Stratford institutions.

Most of his public speeches have some reference to Shakespeare, and this has also been his subject when broadcasting both in this country and America.

On 15th February, 1900, he married Florence Keane, daughter of Sir Richard Keane of Cappoquin Co., Waterford. Lady Flower has associated herself wholeheartedly with her husband's interests and has accompanied him on many of his American tours in the Shakespearean cause. There are two sons—Lieut. Fordham Flower of the Ninth Lancers, now in France, and Lieut. John Keane Flower in the Royal Air Force, stationed in Egypt—as well as one daughter, Miss Evadne Flower, who takes a great interest in amateur theatricals, and who accompanied her parents on their 1928-29 Shakespearean tour through North America.

Showing once again that consideration which distinguishes our Royal Family, the King bestowed the accolade upon Sir Archie Flower at a private audience on Monday, 17th February. It was made known to His Majesty that it was necessary for the Chairman of the Shakespeare Memorial, of which the King is Patron, to proceed to Washington, and accordingly Sir Archie was summoned to Buckingham Palace immediately the Court returned to London. He was presented in His Majesty's private study, and the formal Investiture occupied about half a minute.

The King then asked how the Festival Company was doing. When informed by Sir Archie that the Tour was entirely successful, the King expressed his astonishment. He thought that the competition of the Talkies would hit the legitimate stage very hard. The leading actors might do very well in making the Talkies, but how about the rank and file? If these Talkies with well known stars are to be taken to all sorts of places will the people want to see plays done by other actors? Sir Archie assured His Majesty that hundreds were turned away from the theatre in Los Angeles, the heart of the film world, when the Festival Company played there.

The Birthday Festival

The seven plays to be presented during this year's Birthday Festival comprise three Tragedies, four Comedies, but no History. As already announced, the season of five weeks starts on Easter Monday, 21st April, and ends on Empire Day—Saturday, 24th May.

Apart from *Othello,* which is to be the Birthday Play, the most interesting production will be *The Tempest.* This was last given in the summer of 1919, during Mr. Bridges Adams' first season as Director. It was also one of the four plays produced in 1879 for the first season at the old Memorial Theatre, the other three being *Hamlet, As You Like It,* and *Much Ado About Nothing. The Tempest* was repeated by Sir Frank Benson in 1891, 1897, 1904, 1908, and 1911, and by the Old Vic Company in 1916.

A Midsummer Night's Dream, Julius Caesar, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* were all given two years ago, and *As You Like It* the year before that. As *Romeo and Juliet* was not produced until the Summer Festival in 1929, it is being repeated during the 1930 Birthday Festival, although whether it will be continued during the summer this year is yet uncertain. Additions for the Summer period are being considered, and the choice of the non-Shakespearean play has yet to be made.

This year Shakespeare Sunday will be observed on 28th April, when the Mayor and Corporation will attend Morning Service at the Parish Church. The sermon will be

preached by Canon Carnegie, Speaker's Chaplain, House of Commons, since 1916.

A Birthplace Visitor in 1782

By one of those curious discoveries which seem to happen only in England, there recently came to light a large bundle of old letters, written by a German Clergyman, who made a tour through Britain, by coach and on foot, in 1782. His remarks on English inns and inn-keepers are anything but flattering.

On reaching Oxford he decided to visit Birmingham, and passing through Stratford-upon-Avon, he was "glad to set foot upon classic ground. We went to Shakespeare's own house, which of all the houses in Stratford I think is now the worst. . . . Yet, who would not be proud to be the owner of it? There now, however, lived in it only two old people, who show it to strangers for a trifle, and what they earn thus is their chief income.

"Shakespeare's chair, in which he used to sit before the door, was so cut to pieces that it hardly looked like a chair, for everyone who travels through Stratford, cuts off a chip as a remembrance, which he carefully preserves and deems a precious relic. I also cut myself a piece of it, reverencing Shakespeare as I do, but I am almost ashamed to own that I have lost it. . . ."

Birmingham displeased him so much that he hesitated not a minute, but proceeded to Sutton Coldfield. There he conversed with a female chimney sweep, and was astonished to learn that the Grammar School Headmaster earned £200 per annum, plus extras —and that only in a village. Then on to Lichfield, Derby, Castleton, The Peak, Nottingham, Leicester, and so back to London.

The Town Hall Statue

Until recently considerable doubt existed concerning the Statue on the North side of Stratford Town Hall. Due to the perseverance of Mr. F. C. Wellstood, F.S.A., Deputy Record Keeper, the problem was submitted to Mrs. K. A. Esdaile, the well known authority on Eighteenth Century Sculpture. Her report is as follows:—

"The Westminster Abbey statue dates from 1741; in the year 1768 or 1769 Garrick, who had been on the committee responsible for the earlier statue, must have been aware that Peter Scheemaker was at work upon a revised replica for Lord Pembroke, which I saw at Wilton House in 1924. This version is in stone. Obviously Garrick thought that a gift to Stratford for the Jubilee was wanted, and got Scheemaker to make a lead cast from Lord Pembroke's version, which yours exactly resembles.

"This, I think, makes it all clear. I thought this was so, but now, having looked up my Wilton notes, I am sure. There is one difference, however, probably due to Garrick's own taste. The Wilton scroll bears the words 'Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player,' etc., down to 'Signifying nothing.' As a player he may have thought it especially fitting."

—From recent issues of *The Shakespeare Pictorial*, Stratford. Reprinted through the courtesy of the editor, E. P. Ray, F.R.G.S.

The Early English Dictionary

Members of the Association are invited to cooperate in the preparation of The Early English Dictionary, a project being carried on at the University of Michigan.

The nature and importance of this undertaking is described by the editors as follows:

"The production of this dictionary is a huge project of research in the English language of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These two centuries are especially important for they include, in English literature, our richest period, covering the work of Shakespeare and of Spencer, of Milton and of Dryden, and our English Bible. These two centuries also include, in the English language, the formative period of Modern English, a time when great numbers of words were being added to our vocabulary. This Dictionary of Early Modern English, embodying the results of a thorough investigation of the language problems of this important time, would be indispensable to all who would study with any thoroughness our Tudor and Stuart literature. Incidentally, because the roots of American English lie in the English of sixteenth and seventeenth century England, such a dictionary would provide much information essential to a study of the problems of American English.

The work upon this Early Modern English Dictionary is already going forward. The University of Michigan has provided an adequate housing for the work, has contributed the services of some members of the English staff, and has appropriated more than $17,000 to care for the early expenses of the project. The University of Oxford and the Oxford Press have made available the sixteenth and seventeenth century slips that were collected for the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Altogether there will be about two million slips from Oxford contribution.

Even with the immensely valuable collection of slips which we have inherited, the amount of reading still to be done for further collecting is enormous. If this dictionary is to be thoroughly sound, we must have read systematically the important materials which were produced in English during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and which have not already been satisfactorily read for the Oxford Dictionary. The task is too great for any single individual or for any small group. It can only be accomplished by such a body of volunteer readers as provided the collection of slips that made possible the great Oxford Dictionary. We are therefore seeking to enlist such readers as are equipt for the work, readers who will undertake, from time to time, to cover some one of the books from the lists which we shall publish regularly during the next two years. Complete and detailed directions for reading will be furnished with each book list as well as typical slips. We shall also provide for each book the blank materials to be used in making the slips. In many cases we can arrange that books not available in local libraries may be procured as inter-library loans.

If you, yourself, will undertake to read one or more of these books, we shall be greatly pleased. If you cannot do so now will you not engage to read for us sometime during the next year? In either case we would like you to help us find several persons who are capable and willing to do some such reading during the next few months, preferably under your guidance. Of course all such reading will be fully acknowledged with the name of each contributor printed in the preface to the finished dictionary."

Full particulars may be secured from Professor Charles C. Fries, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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——** A colon after an initial letter indicates that the name is that of a woman.
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